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THE HISTORY OF

THE

CHURCH OF CHRIST,

FROM

THE DIET OF AUGSBURG 1530,

TO

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

In Three Volumes.

IN CONTINUATION OF

MILNER'S

HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF CHRIST.

BIBLIOTHECA BODLEIANA

BY

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CENTURY XVI.

HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF CHRIST, FROM THE DIET OF AUGSBURG.

CHAP. I.

STATE OF RELIGION IN SWITZERLAND—CORRUPTION OF THE CLERGY—ZUINGLE.

THE state of religion in Switzerland, at the commencement of the sixteenth century, presented the same melancholy aspect as in other countries. There were circumstances which rendered improvement even less probable than in most of those which received the returning light of the gospel. While the simple character of the people afforded a ready opening to the appeals of superstition, their political condition still further favoured their close alliance with the papal court. Emancipated from the yoke of Germany, by as bold an effort as had ever been made by an oppressed people, they naturally became the ally of the Roman pontiffs against the power of the Emperors. This alliance was sedulously fostered by the Church; and no means were left unemployed which could tend to keep the Swiss in a state of servile obedience. Both Berne and Zurich set an example of complete subjection to its will; and as they formed the bulwark of the new confederacy, their advice was willingly adopted by most of the other cantons. Switzerland at this time furnished the best mercenary soldiers in Europe; and thus the court of Rome was enabled to derive from its rocky

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fastnesses, not only forces well disciplined for ecclesiastical warfare, but troops at all times ready to support its cause, or that of its confederates, in the field.

In the midst, however, of the darkness which thus prevailed, the tenets of evangelical religion were not without their witnesses. While the priesthood and the great seminaries of education were bowed beneath the yoke of bondage, some few noble and energetic spirits rose superior to the common fate of the nation. Among these was John Keiserberger, whose labours at Strasbourg paved the way for those triumphs of the gospel, which afterwards rendered that city so eminently conspicuous as a member of the reformed Church. Thomas Wittenbach, who exercised the office of theological professor, first at Tubingen, and then at Basil, pursued a similar career; and notwithstanding the danger which attended such appeals to the truth, disputed openly against indulgences, and the various doctrines and practices which had been invented to diminish the full glory, and sufficiency of Christ's atonement.

The power of even a single mind to open wide the channels of inquiry, which nations may have sealed for centuries, was strikingly exhibited in the case of Wittenbach. He occupied a station which others had held, and only contributed to the increase or securer establishment of ignorance and abuse. But by the simple influence of truth, by the mere honesty of purpose which taught him to seek for knowledge, and communicate it freely and openly, he rose above his contemporaries to a height which still renders his name an object of affectionate admiration to the people of God. Under him, both Zuingle and Œcolampadius received their first instruction in theology, and were warned against the prevalent corruptions of the age. Combining in himself the character of a true scholar with that of a divine, venturing to become original, by appealing first and entirely to originality itself, the Word and the Spirit of God, he obtained a command over the minds of his hearers, the most profitable and the most lasting. Leo Juda, another of his scholars, speaks of him as a man accomplished in every kind of learning, and who,

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from the profundity of his erudition, was regarded by the most educated minds as a miracle of knowledge. To these acquirements was added a singular acuteness of observation, and he is said to have foreseen and predicted many of the changes which were, in the course of half a century, to alter so completely the religious condition of his countrymen.

A slight glimmering of the coming dawn might have been seen by those most anxious for reformation, when they turned to the little circle thus formed at the opening of the century. But the light was too uncertain, too unexpected even, to give a fair promise of the day. Many an age had passed away in darkness, in different periods of which there had been the same hopeful appearances. When Zuingle, therefore, began to preach, he had nothing to encourage him but that indescribable impulse of holy feeling, which has the spring of health in it, and gives to the soul a delightful energy, corresponding to that which bears the body along through many a toilsome exercise when full of invigorating health. Endowed with great talents, which early piety ripened and adorned, he was led forward by the most gentle steps to those great undertakings which rendered his life so remarkable. Having been ordained priest by the Bishop of Constance in 1506, he was appointed preacher at Glaris, where he continued ten years.* During this period he laboured with no less diligence as a student, than zeal as a minister of religion. Sensible of the importance of the classical languages, he applied himself perseveringly to the removal of those defects for which the ordinary systems of education afforded no remedy. Of Greek he was almost entirely ignorant when he began this course of self-instruction;

* Ruchat. Histoire de la Reform. de la Suisse, t. I., liv. i., p. 6; Gerdes, t. i. p. 101. The account which Maimbourg gives of Zuingle, is a striking example of the unfairness of his narrative. He endeavours to make it appear that the whole of the reformer's design had its commencement in his hatred to celibacy. It was not, however, till eight or ten years after he began to preach against the corruptions of the Roman Church, that he married. His engagement was then one of a very prudential kind, for he married a widow, by no means young, and whom his enemies even accused him of taking on account of her fortune, an accusation which little accords with that before brought forward. Maimbourg. Hist. du Calvanisme, p. 4.

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but he soon overcame the difficulties which lay in his path, and was at length enabled to read fluently, not only the New Testament, but most of the fathers. Such was his desire to become thoroughly familiar with the style of the apostolic writings, that he copied St. Paul's Epistles with his own hand, and made, in a similar manner, many extracts from Origen, and other early writers of celebrity. By these means he acquired, not only much positive knowledge, but those habits of investigation which rendered it almost impossible for him to remain contented with a system of discipline and theology like that of the Roman Church.* In the feelings thus awakened, he found himself strongly supported by the sympathy of Wolfgang Capito, then well known as a preacher at Basil. His style of teaching and conversing also now underwent a visible change. He began to speak against the superstitions under which the people were in vain struggling for light; and in proportion as he excited their attention to the truths of the gospel, he found his own heart becoming daily more enlarged with the love of divine wisdom.

Notwithstanding the jealousy with which his sentiments were regarded by some of the neighbouring clergy, he continued to enjoy the favour of those who had it in their power to promote him. In the year 1516, therefore, he was removed from Glaris to the charge of the Church at Einsiedlin, in the canton of Shweitz, the stronghold of Catholicism, and where he had to encounter its spirit in perpetual conflict with the truths which he now began to regard as necessary to salvation. At Einsiedlin was the famous image of the virgin, before whose shrine crowds of worshippers were daily to be seen offering up their ignorant devotions. But dark as was the prospect presented by the general state

* Descripsit Paulinas Epistolas, et memoriæ mandavit: illud tandem consecutus ut Græce facilius, quàm Latine, intelligeret. Post ad eundem modum egit in his, quæ sunt novi instrumenti omnibus. Cæterum cum ex D. Petro didicisset: Scripturam non esse privatæ interpretationis, in cœlum suspexit, doctorem quærens Spiritum; à quo precibus contendit, largiretur, quo sensa divinæ mentis perscrutari quàm rectissime posset. Et ne vel seipsum imagine Spiritus falsâ, vel alios deciperet, scripta contulit, et obscura claris explicavit. De orthodoxis scriptoribus sensit, quod ipsi de se volunt: legendos esse cum judicio et ad Scripturam Canonicam, ceu Lydium lapidem, probandos. Melchior. Adami Vitæ Theolog. p. 12.

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of the people, there were here also to be found some few able and inquiring men, whose minds were anxiously directed to the pursuit of knowledge. Zuingle soon explained his sentiments on the subjects which chiefly interested their thoughts. His preaching became every day more evangelical and spiritual; and while the few who could really understand the nature of his opinions, felt intensely interested in their development, the multitude gave signs of awakening, which afforded a fair promise that the gospel would not be brought to them in vain. In most of his efforts, he was greatly aided, by the abbot, Conrad von Rechberg, a man of singular freedom of opinion for the age in which he lived, and yet more for the station which he occupied. Theobald of Geroldseck, who held the second rank in the cloister, and had the chief share in the arrangement of its affairs, is described as possessing a still greater degree of courage, which he manifested, not merely in allowing an hitherto unknown liberty to the fraternity over which he presided, but in introducing translations of the Bible, and making a direct appeal to the Bishop of Constance and the papal legate against the superstitious practices of the district.

It is remarkable that Zuingle was enabled to ascend just so far and no farther in the scale of promotion, as enabled him to make his voice heard throughout the land. His merits were, for some time, superior, in the eyes of the ruling members of the Church, to the reasons which they might have for occasionally suspecting his discretion or his orthodoxy. Whatever, therefore, inferior enemies were disposed to say against him, he was appointed, in the year 1518, to be preacher in the cathedral at Zurich, a situation eminently calculated for the display of those stores of information which he had now, for many years, been carefully accumulating in less laborious stations.*

* Many persons in Zurich, it is said, laboured day and night to obtain Zuingle's appointment to the vacant parish. Of this he was ignorant, till he found himself asked, whether he would undertake the charge. When he accepted the appointment he could not tell whether he would not be a great loser by the change. Melchior. Adami Vitæ, p. 13. Hottinger, Helvetischer Kirchen-Geschichten, t. I., p. 35.

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The duty of preaching had fallen into general neglect, when Zuingle thus obtained a position so favourable for its exercise by a man of strong mind, and spiritual earnestness. A formal illustration of the regularly recurring and short portions of Scripture, which the Church had appointed to be read, was all that could be looked for in the best attended places of public worship. Zuingle at once determined to adopt a new course, and to this end, informed the principal officers of the cathedral, that he should read and expound the Gospel of St. Matthew to the people, and endeavour to lead them to a clear understanding of the whole system of divine truth.

While preparations were thus being made for the revival of knowledge, the emissaries of Rome were busy in endeavours to draw from the country the last tribute which it was to pay to the pride and luxury of St. Peter's. Zuingle had already sufficiently impressed the minds of some of his countrymen with doubts respecting the authority of the Pope, to lessen the success of this mission. But while such was the case in those districts which had enjoyed the advantage of his ministrations, the other cantons seemed proportionably anxious to render their homage and their offerings to the preacher of indulgences. To such an extent, it is said, did this take place, that Tetzel himself, with all his boldness and fraud, and with countries so much more promising to range over, was rivalled by his brother mendicant in Switzerland. Zurich was protected from the ravages of this imposture, not only by the preaching of Zuingle, but by the orders of the bishop, who, enraged at not being asked to subscribe his name to the drafts on the treasury of heaven, chose to regard the agent as an intruder, and therefore issued directions to his clergy to resist his appearance in their parishes. Still further, when the monk left the country, a formal complaint respecting his conduct was despatched to Rome, and Leo X. could probably discover, in the expressions employed, certain indications little favourable to his own wishes. The answer returned cautiously defended the right of the Church to levy contributions on the security

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proposed; but it added also that the monk, if found guilty, should be punished. This circumstance serves to show the state of parties in Switzerland at the present time. The interests of Rome continued to be supported by those who would have defended their own authority, even at the expense of that of the Pope; but it is plain that, for the moment, an admirable opportunity was afforded to Zuingle and his party to press the interests of reform. Neither the higher nor the inferior clergy were likely to be very violent in their resistance to a preacher who, by his ability, was doing more than they could all do by the most angry of their combinations, against the power which they now both feared and hated.

But Zuingle pursued a course which, however essentially opposed to Rome, showed less of bitterness than might have been looked for at the commencement of such a conflict. His zeal was tempered with admirable prudence, and his caution was rendered still more worthy of praise by the conscientious readiness with which he anticipated his more direct attacks on the papal court by resigning its gifts. This enabled him to refute, at once, the efforts of his adversaries, when they attempted to charge him with sinister or selfish motives, in the prosecution of reform. "If my enemies," said he, in a letter on this subject, "accuse me of avarice, or perfidy, and say that I am corrupted by the hope of gain, and therefore endeavour to diffuse false doctrine, believe them not, O brothers! no! not even should they swear in the most solemn manner to the truth of their assertions. No bribes have bound me to any one. Formerly, indeed, I received pay from the Roman pontiff, but this has for some time ceased to be the case; and the stipend was only accepted so long as I thought it right and pious to employ my utmost endeavours in the support of his cause."

By the end of the year 1519, about two thousand persons were considered as true and faithful converts to the doctrines of the new reformer.* The numbers from that time increased with much greater rapidity, and the reputation of Zuingle is represented as spreading far

* Ruchat. t. I., liv. i., p. 71. Hottinger, t. I., b. vi., p. 49.

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and wide. In Zurich itself his influence became daily more manifest; and his constant exhortation, "Let the Word of God alone be our rule in matters of faith," found an echo in the senate. The chief magistrates issued directions to the clergy, exhorting them to put aside the traditions of men, and draw their discourses from the prophets and evangelists. At the same time the vain ceremonies of the mass were assailed, and the whole district seemed ready to awake at the voice of the gospel and its ministers. But great as was this success, much remained to be done before the principles of a reformation could be regarded as secure. The canton despatched, in the midst of these events, a body of near three thousand men to recruit the armies of the Pope; and notwithstanding the abridgment of many of the old practices, most repugnant to the simplicity of truth, sufficient remained to present a formidable barrier to the immediate return of light.

The proceedings of Zuingle did not fail to rouse the feelings of those who considered them as injurious either to religion, properly so called, or to the manifold interests which the world and the worldly have contrived to mingle with its claims. It would have been impossible, indeed, for the Bishop of Constance to allow the changes now attempted to pass unnoticed, unless, in his own mind, convinced of their necessity. This was not the case, nor could it be expected that a man not conspicuous for grasp of intellect, or elevated piety, would very readily involve himself in a dispute which might cost him his dignity and revenues. The reformers addressed him in language equally cautious and respectful, when they entreated him simply to refrain from persecution; but when they also asked him to give his consent to the marriage of the clergy, they appear to have desired his sanction to a measure not within the limits of a bishop's jurisdiction. In his answer to their address, the prelate spoke as one whose dread of reform was blended with a secret sense of its necessity. The unquiet spirit of change is regarded even by the most enlightened and spiritual minds with fear. It comes, under all circumstances, in a questionable shape; and

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though it may, in a vast variety of instances, be injurious to truth, religion and humanity to resist it, it can never be unfair to examine its approaches, and may, in several cases, be both wise and honest resolutely to oppose it. The Bishop of Constance, therefore, could not be complained of, because he spoke in mingled sorrow and anxiety respecting what he heard of the agitated state of his diocese. But he went further; and looking at the objects which had remained stationary for centuries, he too readily concluded that the shaking of the dusty furniture of the temple would be the overturning of the edifice itself; or that the clearing away of the under-grass, which only nourished venomous animals, would be the ruin of the soil.

It is characteristic of the Reformation in Switzerland, that it was carried to maturity by almost the first efforts of its projectors. This may be partly accounted for by what is known of Zuingle's long previous study of the main points in dispute. When he began his career at Zurich, his mind was already settled on most of the doctrines which formed his system. Unlike Luther, he was urged, rather by his own thoughts than by circumstances, into the work which he undertook; and the proceedings which depend more upon the movements of the mind, than on the progress of events, will, in all ordinary cases, be brought to a far more rapid conclusion. In answer to the objections alleged by the Bishop of Constance and his other opponents, whose numbers multiplied in proportion to his success, he drew up a series of articles, embodying all the leading features of his doctrine.* The first of these states, that "whosoever affirms that the gospel is nothing, except as approved by the Church, errs, and blasphemes God."

Having thus laid the foundation of his profession on the simple Word of God, he proceeds to the exhibition of the several tenets which seemed to be immediately derivable from this first grand principle of evangelical religion. "The sum of the gospel," says he, "is, that Christ hath made known to us the will of his heavenly Father, and by his righteousness redeemed

* Gerdes, Monument. Antiquit. t. i., n. xxii., p. 221.

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us from death, and reconciled us to God. That Christ, therefore, is the only way to salvation, and that whosoever seeks or points out any other entrance is a thief and a robber; while he who represents any other doctrine as superior or equal to those of the gospel, errs, nor understands what the gospel means." Again: "Christ is the Lord and guide of all the human race, promised and appointed by God: so that He is himself the salvation and head of all that believe; who are his body, and without him are dead, and can do nothing; whence it follows that all who live in that head are members and sons of God. And this is the Church, or communion of saints, the spouse of Christ, the Church catholic." Pursuing this definition of the Church, he says, "As the members of the body without the government of the head can avail nothing, so is it also in the body of Christ. When the members without the head do any thing, as when they tear and destroy each other, the man is insane. So when the members of Christ without Christ attempt somewhat, they are mad, and burden and destroy themselves by their imprudent laws. Hence we collect, that those ecclesiastical laws and traditions, as they are called, whereby churchmen defend their pomps, their riches, honours, titles and institutions, are the very cause of madness, for they agree not with the head, that is, with Christ. When they rave, therefore, it is not for the head whom, by the grace of God, all the pious most strenuously endeavour to exalt, but because they are not permitted freely to pursue their mad endeavours."

From this statement of his views respecting the true Church, he proceeds to show how it is nourished and edified. "When men hearken to the Word of God," says he, "they become acquainted with his pure and genuine will; and are, in due time, drawn towards him by the Spirit, and at length, as it were, transformed into his likeness. Let all Christians, therefore, attend especially to this, that the gospel of Christ is every where preached fully and sincerely. He who believes the gospel shall be safe, he who believes not shall be condemned; for all truth shines forth in the gospel,

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and in the gospel are we taught that the doctrines and traditions of men profit not for salvation."

The next subject spoken of is the priesthood of Christ. "Christ only," it is said, "is the eternal, and great High Priest. They, therefore, who set themselves out as high priests are enemies to the power and glory of Christ, and reject him. Christ, who offered up himself once upon the cross, is the sacrifice and victim, an everlasting atonement for the sins of all the faithful. Hence we conclude that the mass is not a sacrifice, but a commemoration of the sacrifice once offered upon the cross, and the seal, as it were, of our redemption exhibited through Christ. He is our only Mediator between God and us. God grants us all things through Christ, and in the name of Christ. Therefore, there is no need of any other intercessor. He, too, is our righteousness; and hence it follows that our works are good in just so far as they are Christ's; in so far as they are ours, they are not really good."

These articles are followed by others alluding to the duties of Christians. "When Christ contemns the things of this world, and its pride, he teaches that those who, bearing his name, devote themselves to the pursuit of riches, affect him with great infamy, since they make him appear as the patron of their cupidity and luxury. No Christian, on the other hand, is bound to those works which Christ has not commanded, or by rules respecting what meat he may eat, or at what time he should eat it.* Time and place are in man's power, not man in theirs. They, therefore, who put time and

* The conclusion to this article is calculated to provoke a smile. "Consequitur ergo, *literas quas pro caseo et butyro* dant pontificii, Romanas esse imposturas." This allusion is explained by a passage from one of the letters of Pomeranus. "Ubi nunc sunt literæ illæ papales, quas butyricas vocant? Quibus pro pecunia permittunt hæresin, id est, edere butyrum in quadragesima. In illis literis scribunt se permittere butyrum de utriusque medici consilio. Alterum medicum corporis, alterum animarum appellant. Verum mendax appellatio est, quod medicus animarum dicitur, qui per prohibitionem ciborum aut permissionem curet, non per verbum Dei. Et fere fit, ut isti personati animarum medici, occisis animalibus, etiam occidunt corpora, dum efficiunt, ut boni medici corporum, qui suadent uti salutaribus cibis, non audiantur. Hinc Carthusianum ægrotantem prius mori volunt, antequam permittant edere carnes, licet etiam omnes medici corporum hoc suadeant." Citata a Kappio in Collect. Script. ad Negot. Indulgentiar. Gerdes. Monument. Antiq., t. I., p. 224.

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place in bondage defraud the pious of their Christian liberty." The marriage of the clergy is contended for in a similar manner; and the wealth and power of the Roman Church are directly assailed by the remark, that, the property which has been unjustly taken from its rightful possessors ought not to be given to churches, monasteries, monks or priests, but to the poor, supposing that it cannot be restored to those who have a lawful claim to the inheritance. The power, moreover, "which the Pope and the bishops, and others who are called spiritual, arrogate to themselves, and with which they feed their pride," has no foundation, it is said, in Scripture, or in the doctrine of Christ. Zuingle next refers to the authority of the magistrate, and the dangerous inroads which had been made upon its independence by the interference of ecclesiastics. This formed an important point in the general controversy, and one which demands careful consideration on the part of those who would obtain just and clear notions of the events of the period. History affords abundant proof of the evils which must attend any collision between the Church and the State, under whatever form they may exist. The reason of this is evident. While the State defends the long-recognized distinctions between right and wrong, and introduces for its particular support, in certain exigencies, nothing but what a fair view of the nature of civilization and society will allow, it has a right to demand the obedience of all who live under its protection, or enjoy the general benefits of its influence. Now, when churches or churchmen pretend to an exemption from the operation of such a rule, the very laws not merely of society, but of sound sense and simple right reason, are contradicted; for the highest possible spiritual authority, much more any conceivable degree of ecclesiastical power, is given to men for no other purpose than this, the promotion of general good; and it would require more subtlety, more wit and logic than was ever possessed by man to show, that the right principles of social government can ever be in opposition to the legitimate determinations of ecclesiastical rule. Whenever the latter requires a sacrifice

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on the part of the former, it is bound to prove that there has been some violation of the universal law of right, of holiness, or charity. If it cannot show this, but still insists upon a contradiction to the social rule, or an exemption from its applications, then the guilt of selfishness is incurred to an extent which would almost set aside every motive to obedience. In the use of argument, therefore, appealing strongly to the good sense of mankind, the reformers could have found no better than that which insisted on universal obedience to the laws of the state, which set aside exceptions, and made justice and right reason the rule whereby to determine the manner in which every individual, whatsoever his rank or profession, should conduct himself towards his fellow men. Supposing, indeed, that they had even entertained no higher wish than that of securing the success of their party, it was a proof of eminent sagacity to take up this line of reasoning; and should any one, on the other hand, be disposed to question the value of the Reformation as to nobler objects, he would still probably find himself constrained to own that that change was of no slight use to the world which placed law and justice again on their throne, and silenced the proud declaimer who had ventured to strip them of their majesty.

According to these principles, "the public magistracy," says Zuingle, "is established by the word and actions of Christ. All Christians, therefore, should obey the magistrate in whatever he commands, that is not contrary to the Word of God." This article is followed by others, which in a state not constituted like that of Zurich, or its confederate cantons, might have created more jealousy in the government than was sufficient to counterbalance the favourable impressions left by the former statement. It is not, indeed, quite easy to discover the necessity which induced this preacher of the gospel to touch upon topics that had so little to do with his subject, and from which his most venerated forerunners had so studiously refrained. "When the magistrates," said he, "have acted perfidiously, and contrary to the rule of Christ, they may with God's will be deposed." He might, it is possible, have chiefly

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in his eye, when he penned this passage, the officers of his own little republic, whose actions might easily be submitted to inquiry, and their errors punished with summary justice, at the most trifling expense of tranquillity. But, expressed as it is, the rulers of other countries could hardly fail to suspect that a measure was about to be introduced which would shake many thrones. While they would not venture to contradict the fundamental truth of the position, they could reasonably suggest their fears that the people might take upon themselves to determine the fate of dynasties as speedily as that of parish priests, and so lead the way to universal confusion. But Zuingle's sentiments on the subject were more clearly expressed in other parts of his writings; and his love of order, as established by the precepts of the gospel, was, to those who knew him, a sufficient guarantee for his conduct in matters of civil policy. "That government," said he, "is the best and safest which springs from God, and is conducted according to His laws; and that is the worst and the weakest, which obeys only the will of man." This proposition he has carefully unfolded, and the experience of the world has added many an ample proof of its truth and value.*

In the following articles, the atonement of Christ is described as the only satisfaction for sin, and he who ascribes the power of remission to any creature whatsoever is said to be guilty of idolatry, and of depriving God of his glory. This sets aside the efficacy of confession, except for the purposes of consultation; and works of satisfaction, imposed by the priest, saving excommunication, are spoken of as of human tradition, and invented only to create terror. He who denies remission in the case of any one sin, to the truly penitent, is said to belong neither to God, nor St. Peter, but to the devil; while they "who remit some sins only, and that for money," are described as "the associates of Simon and Balaam, and true ambassadors of Satan." Purgatory is altogether denied, and the dead, it is said, are amenable only to the judgment of God. The obscurity, it is added, which pervades subjects of this kind, ought to

* De Vera et Fabra Religione, p. 378.

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render us proportionably unwilling to attempt their investigation. Yet "if," says the writer, "any one, solicitous for the dead, implores grace for them before God, I condemn him not: but to define the time of their punishment, and to lie for gain, this is not to act humanely, but diabolically." In respect to the ministers of the Church, it is said, "Scripture recognizes no other kind of presbyters, or priests, but those who declare the Word of God. But to those who thus preach his gospel, Scripture commands that a proper support should be rendered." With regard to the manner in which the ministers of the forsaken community were to be treated, it is said, that no harm ought to be inflicted on those who acknowledged their errors, but that they should be allowed to depart in peace, and that then a division of the vacant revenues should take place, according to the strict rule of Christian charity. In respect to those who refused to forsake their old opinions, they too, it is said, ought not to be exposed to violence, except in cases of open and flagrant vice, but should be left to God. At the conclusion of the summary, the writer exhorts the heads of the Church to humble themselves, and to take up the cross of Christ, not the bag, lest the destruction foretold should speedily involve them in ruin. "And if," he adds, "it would please any one to dispute with me on the subject of tithes, or unbaptized infants, or confirmation, I shall not refuse to meet him."

Such was the ground-work of the system of doctrine, soon to be received by the reformed Church of Switzerland. Much yet remained to be done; and though Zuingle had made a far more rapid advance than Luther at the commencement of his career, it is plain that he did not view every part of his system with the same degree of confidence. The statement of opinions as delivered for the purpose of instruction, or of controversy, will generally differ, in some respects, according to the object designed. To provide arguments against an adversary would be of little use, unless great caution were employed to let nothing escape by way of gratuitous confession. This the accomplished polemics of the age of the Reformation were fully prepared to understand. It

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is well for us, therefore, that we possess a record of their doctrines, consisting of many chapters, penned under various circumstances, and in different moods of feeling.

A meeting, at which near six hundred persons were present, was assembled to discuss the opinions thus propounded by Zuingle.* The Bishop of Constance sent as his representative John Faber; and some good seems to have been looked for from the skilful arguments of this learned man. But it was soon found impossible to bring the disputants sufficiently near each other to allow of any important result. Zuingle insisted, with unchanging firmness, that the Scriptures ought to be regarded as the sole authority in religious controversy; while Faber as earnestly contended for the authority of tradition. Whatever could be said, in this want of any common and recognized superior, whose judgment might be final, would be exposed, in every instance, to the caprice of the opponent; and leaving it to be tried by a test not properly owned by the author of the argument, it could rarely convince the party against whom it was levelled. It was as if two chemists were quarrelling respecting the nature of a body exposed to analysis, and each taking his own test, different in character from that employed by his adversary, should refuse to let the substance be tried by one common standard. A second meeting of a similar kind was held in the autumn of 1523. It was more numerously attended than the former; and, from the absence of any great ecclesiastical authority, seemed still better calculated to urge forward with boldness the great movement of reform. The worship of images was now distinctly stated to be contrary to the Word of God; and the mass was said to be no sacrifice, but simply a feast instituted by the Lord, commemorative, that is, of his saving and only offering. The use of an unknown tongue, the introduction of unleavened bread, the demand of money for the performance of the service, and the whole tribe of observances brought in by the long prevalence of daring superstition, were sacrificed at one blow by the decisions of this meeting. Zuingle found himself supported by the senate. The

* Ruchat. Hist. de la Reform., t. i. liv. ii. p. 158.

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Romish clergy heard, with astonishment and despair, the prohibition of those rites which had, for so many ages, swayed the minds of the people, and made them obedient to the slightest whisper of their will. Relics and holy-water, and the mysterious perfume of the incense, lost their value in an instant; and the converting grace of God's Holy Spirit was alone spoken of, by those who demonstrated rightly their knowledge and their faith, as worthy of the anxious prayers of penitent sinners.

Great care appears to have been taken to afford the opposite party the means of defending its cause by fair and open reasoning. Every effort was employed to persuade, or provoke, its advocates to the exhibition of their views, and the arguments by which they conceived them to be supported. That the meeting was one calculated only to excite popular clamour, could not be honestly contended; for the best scholars of the age, men of talents and piety, equal to any in the country, were interested and engaged in the dispute; nor would the Roman Court have hesitated, for an instant, to acknowledge their ability and worth, had they appeared as its own champions.

The Catholic party in Zurich was led by Conrad Hoffman, one of the canons of the cathedral. By its late decrees the senate had roused the clergy, who rejected reform, to a sense of their immediate danger. Their frequent remonstrances induced the magistrates to join with Zuingle in inviting them to public conferences. This course afforded the best proof of impartiality that could have been looked for from a public body. Its first determinations were founded on plain statements of facts; and when these were disputed, it did all in its power to bring the opposing parties together, before the tribunal of their fellow-citizens. In other cantons, measures were taken to prevent the outbreak of a reforming spirit by the most rigid prohibitions. A meeting was held at Lucern, in which it was decreed, that nothing should be changed in the Church, whether it pertained to doctrine or to practice.* This could not be complained of, supposing that the authority which uttered

* Gerdes., t. i., p. 295.

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the decree was recognized as fair and legitimate. But surely nothing could show greater ignorance of the character of the age, or less regard for the common rights of human reason, than the accompanying command, which ordered that in no social meetings, or places of public resort, any mention should be made of Luther, or of that which he had taught. The impropriety of those loose discussions respecting religion, in which uninformed minds will often indulge, must be apparent to all: but experience plainly teaches, that no worse plan can be pursued than that of attempting to silence them by authority; and the moment the question is put, as to when and where one set of men may properly prohibit another from uttering their thoughts, a host of difficulties arise with which none indeed but a pretender to omnipotence and infallibility would venture to contend.

As the excitement occasioned by the proceedings at Zurich was now becoming general, the other cantons united in sending a formal remonstrance to that portion of the confederacy. "It was with grief," said their deputies, "that they had seen the tranquillity, so long existing, disturbed by novel opinions. No dispute on matters of religion was known in former times, but at present the seeds of discord were plenteously scattered through every province of both Church and State." "The danger," it was added, "to be apprehended from these things ought to have been earlier met by vigorous measures; and those entrusted with the management of affairs should have followed the example of their ancestors, and avenged the name, and the glory, of the Almighty God, and of the Virgin Mary, and the saints; and, if necessary, should have sacrificed in this holy cause, not only their possessions, but their blood and their lives. There was now no time for delay: every thing, even their souls, were in jeopardy. The evils to be apprehended from indulgence were visible in the consequences of Luther's heresy. No power was now sufficient to repress the fanaticism of the multitude, the audacity of which, increasing every day, threatened to overwhelm in rebellion every vestige of rightful authority."*

* Sleidan. Hist. de la Reform., t. I., liv. iv., p. 153.

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The heavy responsibility attending these commotions was thrown entirely upon Zuingle and Leo Juda. "It was they," said the deputies, "who had so taught, and unfolded the Word of God, the proper fruits of which are peace and concord, that it now only opened the way to every kind of trouble and dissension. True it was, they did not know what were the precise doctrines of these innovators, but enough of their nature might be learnt from the confusion which attended their publication. There was no longer any distinction of meats, or days. Priests, and monks, and nuns boldly violated their vows; the services of the Church were interrupted, or discontinued; the voice of prayer had ceased to be heard; the ministers of religion were treated with contempt, and the monasteries had been destroyed by sacrilegious hands. Nor was this all. Confession of sins, and all the duties of penitence, were falling into disuse. There were those even who did not fear to approach the holy communion without any previous confession. The mass was spoken of with bold licentiousness; the virgin and the saints were insulted; their images thrown down, and broken; the sacraments in general no longer commanded respect; and such was the height to which the wickedness of some had lately arisen, that the host itself was scarcely safe in the hands of the priest."

Having thus summed up the grievances under which the members of the Roman Church were groaning in the reformed canton, the deputies added, "We cannot but deplore a state of things so injurious to religion. It would be unholy to tolerate it any longer; and we have yielded, therefore, to the persuasions of many ecclesiastical associates, and solemnly entreat our confederates to desist from their enterprise, and to abide by the religion of their ancestors. If they complain of injuries arising from oppressive conduct on the part of the Pope, and his creatures, that is to say, cardinals, bishops, and other ecclesiastics, we shall readily unite with them to correct such grievances, and are ready to show our sincerity, by entering on the early discussion of their origin and means of cure."

To this remonstrance the senate of Zurich replied,

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that five years had already passed away since the first preaching of the doctrines of the Reformation. That when originally proposed, they had worn the appearance of novelty, but after being carefully considered, were found to embody the pure sense of the gospel, the value, that is, of Christ's atoning blood; his continual intercession for sinners, and other corresponding principles, which they could not but rejoice to receive, and promulge with all the ardour of their souls. They acknowledged the unity of mind and doctrine which existed among the apostles, and their followers; and they trusted that a union, equally strict, would be seen to exist among those who rejected human traditions for the simple Word of God. If Luther, or any one else, taught that Scripture was the only rule of faith, he did well; but it was not by the name of this, or that man, that such a doctrine should be sealed, seeing that to attribute it to any individual might render it odious, and thereby lead to the dishonouring of its heavenly Author.

In referring to other parts of the remonstrance, they remarked, that though they ascribed divine worship to Jesus Christ alone, they did not thereby dishonour the Virgin Mary or the saints, who, in their life upon earth, did equally look to Christ as the sole author of salvation: that so much light had lately been poured into the minds of men, that the greater portion of their fellow-citizens were reading the Bible for themselves, and had thus rendered it almost impossible for the ministers of the Church to pervert the sense of Scripture, or oblige the laity to receive their false interpretations: that the name of sect could not, with justice, be given to the faithful readers of Scripture; but belonged rather to those who used the Word of God only to establish their own selfish views: that errors had been imputed to them without proof: that they had invited the Bishop of Constance and other prelates, and some universities, to examine the subject with them, but had not been able to gain their attention: that the attempt of the bishops to prevent the discussion of these things, in the presence of the laity, was unreasonable and useless; and that instead of referring continually

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to the fathers and the councils, they were more anxious to hear what was the will of Christ.

The charge of creating disturbances having been cast upon the reformers of Zurich, it was answered, that they were not the authors of the confusion, and that the accusation ought to be fixed on those who had given birth to corruptions, which could not be allowed to exist if any zeal remained for the honour of God, or the salvation of men's souls. "If," it was added, "a purer faith be established,—if it be no longer so anxiously asked, What is the will of man? but, What is the will of God? avarice, pomp and luxury will soon lose ground, and means will speedily be discovered for the restoration of peace and concord. We are inundated with vices unknown to our ancestors, and these our reformed ministers never fail to rebuke, but labour incessantly to bring men's minds to a due sense of the majesty of God. If it be only the smaller portion of those who hear that bring forth good fruit, the fault is not in the seed sown, but in the soil upon which it falls. But, at least, there no longer reigns in our canton that luxury and intemperance so prevalent in all other parts of the country;* and our people are daily becoming less willing to enrol themselves as mercenaries in the armies of foreign princes." The accusation respecting the use of particular meats was not founded, they added, on any command of Jesus Christ, but they had made a law calculated to prevent either rashness or scandal. As to the marriage of the clergy, it was defended as fully consistent with the Word of God; and on the delicate point of confiscating church property, they stated, that the colleges of the

* Melancholy proofs had already been given of the licentiousness of manners which prevailed among those who ought to have been the first to check its appearance. Thus, on the 1st of August 1477, the people of Bern presented an address to the Bishop of Lausanne, in which they said, "Nous voyons clairement que le clergé de nos païs est extrêmement debauché, et adonné à l'impureté, et qu'il l'exerce tout ouvertement, sans en avoir honte. Ils sont concubinaires. Ils rodent de nuit autour des maisons de débauche, et ils osent le faire avec tant d'impudence, qu'il n'y a ni honneur, ni conscience, ni crainte de Dieu ou des hommes, qui les retienne; ce qui nous afflige extrêmement. Nos ancêtres ont souvent fait des ordonnances de police, pour arrêter le cours de ces désordres, particulièrement quand ils voyoient que les tribunaux ecclésiastiques étoient relâchés à cet égard. Ruchat. Hist. de la Reform. de la Suisse. Discours Prelim., t. I., p. xxx.

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canons had been originally formed for the use of poor persons, while, at present, their revenues were, almost without exception, in the hands of the rich, one man frequently holding benefices which served formerly for the support of many. It had appeared to be an act of equal justice and expediency, therefore, to propose a different arrangement respecting the dispensation of these revenues, but with this caution, that none of the present possessors should be disturbed in the enjoyment of their rights.

As great complaints had been made in regard to the removal of some of the ornaments of the churches, and the alteration in the services, the senators of Zurich replied, that the decorations of the church pertained not essentially to the worship of God, whereas charity to the poor was absolutely necessary to the service which he required: that Jesus Christ had commanded the rich young man to give his possessions, not to the Church, but to the poor. In the same spirit it was observed, that they did not despise the order of priests, but, on the contrary, greatly esteemed those who performed their duty, and taught sound doctrine: that as to the rest, they did not doubt but that it would be well to diminish their numbers by degrees, and employ the revenues, now expended upon such unworthy ministers, in a more useful manner: that they feared the numerous prayers, and frequent singing, of which mention had been made, were little pleasing to God, since these services were unintelligible to most of those who heard them, and were performed by those who only engaged in them for hire: that, in respect to confession, as commonly practised, they did not wish to determine what value ought to be set upon it; but were sure of this, that the confession of a truly penitent heart, burdened with the recollection of sin, and bringing its sorrows to the cross of Christ, was not only useful, but as necessary as useful: that the ordinary mode of satisfying for sins, so profitable to those who repeated the masses, contained much of error and impiety, and that true penitence and satisfaction consisted in a change of life.

Turning then to the other charges brought against

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them, they observed, that the monastic orders were of human institution, and not of God. They declared that they had great respect for the sacraments which had divine authority on their side, and that they would not suffer any one to despise them; but that it was incumbent on them to follow the institution of God, and not to change the Lord's Supper into an oblation, or a sacrifice. To this it was added, that if the clergy who had complained by their deputies, could prove any fault against them, or that they taught error, they would not refuse to grant them satisfaction; but that if they could not establish either the one charge or the other, they ought to cease from their calumnies, and perform their duty by preaching the truth themselves. It was with pleasure, they continued, that they had heard of an intention on the part of their opponents, to abolish the habits of pillage and rapine practised by the papists, and their tyrannous exercise of power: but to effect this, there could be no means so likely to ensure success as the reception of the Word of God, ungarbled and unabridged: that while their laws and decrees were in full vigour, it would be folly to expect deliverance; and that the preaching of pure Scripture doctrine could alone overthrow their usurped authority: that they themselves knew how great was the power of the gospel and of truth, and being conscious of this, and distrusting their own strength, they had recourse to the help of princes: that if, in this respect, it was necessary to employ the help of Scripture, so also ought they to look to it in regard to all other things, and to abolish at once whatever might be offensive in the sight of God.

In conclusion, they declared, that as deliberation was required to determine in what way the desired changes might be most readily brought about, they were ready to unite with their fellow-countrymen, and to contribute their aid, not only by counsel and exertion, but to the full extent of their fortunes: that this being the case, they entreated them to receive, with a friendly spirit, that which they had suggested, and to take it into their serious consideration: that, for themselves, they desired nothing more than to see peace maintained, and there-

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fore promised to preserve inviolate the laws and the treaties of the confederation; but that, in every thing which regarded their eternal salvation, they could not alter their present course, till it was proved to be erroneous. They entreated their opponents, therefore, with renewed earnestness, that if they believed their doctrine to be contrary to Scripture, they would show them where it was wrong, and let them receive their answer before the end of May, at which time they expected replies also from the bishops, and from the university of Basil.*

The Bishop of Constance did not refuse the desired answer to the representations of the senate of Zurich. But he seems to have been unwilling to grapple with the real point at issue. His observations referred chiefly to the nature of the worship rendered to images; and he concluded with the somewhat bold assumption, that when the Scriptures order the destruction of images, they refer only to those employed by Jews and Gentiles, and that, therefore, in Christian churches they ought to be retained. In a similar manner, the opinions of popes and councils are chosen to prove the doctrine of the mass; and Scripture is treated as if its testimony were too dubious or too obscure to establish that which the Church requires as necessary to spiritual life. How little the prelate's answer availed with the senate is apparent from the course which it pursued. Before sending its reply, which was chiefly characterized by its earnest appeal to the authority of Scripture, it issued an order for the removal of images, not only from the churches in Zurich, but from those in every village and hamlet in the canton.

But while the senate, by this decree, manifested in the clearest manner its own sense of evangelical truth, it proved also, by the method it employed in effecting its purposes, that it was instigated by none of those fierce or turbulent passions which so commonly supply the motives for sudden changes. Zuingle has afforded us the means of judging of the conduct of the magistrates on this occasion. In a letter to one of his intimate

* This reply to the deputies was given March 21st 1524. Sleidan, t. I., liv. iv., p. 155.

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friends, he says, that when the removal of images had been determined on, a law was published, prohibiting any private individual from throwing them down, except in cases where they had been put up in the person's own house, or at his particular charge. By this order the dangerous effects of popular zeal were suppressed, and the responsibility of the proceeding was fixed at once upon the parties concerned. There was an honourable feeling in the senate when it thus stood forth, openly and fearlessly, to perform the service of religion, and with the determination to leave nothing to chance or passion, which it believed ought to be brought about by the solemn decree of authority.

When the people of any parish had determined to remove the images from their church, they were directed to assemble, attended by their minister, and seriously state their opinions and wishes. If the greater number were found to agree respecting the expediency of the removal, it was then to take place, but according to a prescribed order, and with a most especial regard to the preservation of tranquillity. If, on the other hand, the greater part of the parishioners should dissent from the proposed change, further time was to be allowed, and the images were to be left till the people should be better instructed in the reasons which rendered them so obnoxious to men of learning and piety.* In the

* The Roman-catholic editor of Sleidan, observes, in a note, t. I., liv. iv., p. 160, on this subject, "If the images were an occasion of superstition and abuse, there ought to have been no hesitation as to the propriety of destroying them; although, in themselves, they were not positively wrong. The good or bad use of things is that which should determine pastors in retaining or removing them, and if there is more reason to apprehend abuse than to expect edification, they ought not to hesitate about their suppression. I believe that on inquiry, it would be found, that no great difference of opinion would exist between enlightened Catholics and Protestants on this subject; and that it is an affair of prudence, rather than of religion. Perhaps, the most reasonable and moderate part would be to permit, for the ornament of churches, and the instruction of the simple, pictures descriptive of actions, and historical events, but to suppress images and statues of particular saints, to prevent their superstitious worship by the people, who often address them as the source of the blessings which they ask." The author of this continuation has been frequently struck in entering some of the Protestant churches of Germany, to find them very richly ornamented with paintings of the kind alluded to by the learned editor. At Worms the principal church is covered with ornaments of this nature; and at Augsburg, the portrait of Luther, in one of the churches, is on a line with some remarkably fine heads of the apostles. It is also a somewhat curious circumstance, that while at both Worms and

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churches of Zurich were many images, placed there by private persons. A certain time was allowed to such persons to remove their idols, as they were called. A large number were accordingly quietly taken away; and when a sufficient period had elapsed to try the mind of the people, and the feelings of those who regarded the images which they had set up with conscientious veneration, were somewhat soothed, the remainder were taken down, under the direction of the magistrates and clergy, and committed to the flames, or disposed of in other ways, so as to prevent the expression of any sentiment on the part of the multitude, calculated to disturb the good spirit now beginning to prevail. Zuingle, after naming some circumstance which had afforded occasion for mirth and triumph to those engaged in this business, exclaims, "I rejoice and congratulate my fellow men, therefore, that the base imposture has come to an end; for I trust that this will lead the way to the entire overthrow of the whole tribe of popish inventions. To God, by whose power and grace all this has been brought to pass, be praise and glory for ever and ever."

The wisdom of the senate of Zurich, in the general conduct of this affair, was sufficiently proved by the tranquillity which prevailed during the execution of its orders. An important advance had been made in the state of the people, thus willing, as they proved themselves, to be convinced of the uselessness of dumb shows, and of the impiety of even a seeming adoration of idols of wood and stone. The feeling which they had exhibited, though still far from general, was happily beginning to show itself in other parts of the country. Basil was highly favoured at this time. It enjoyed the teaching of some of the most enlightened men of the age. Œcolampadius and Capito were both settled there; and to their sound good sense and piety may be attributed the open path which presented itself to the reformers of a later period. As chief of the

Spire, the Protestant churches are rich in decoration, the Catholic cathedrals present naked walls only, the edifices being kept exquisitely neat, but completely destitute of both paintings and images.

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canons, Capito possessed considerable influence; and his example, it is probable, had an effect upon many who would scarcely have yielded to a more direct appeal. But Œcolampadius was still better qualified to promote the grand objects of reform. Taught by long personal experience to tremble at the tyranny of the Roman Church, he no sooner undertook the duties of theological professor at Basil, than he commenced a series of lectures, the hearers of which had no other alternative than either to close their hearts to conviction, or take part with their master in the work of reformation. After labouring for some time in the professorship of divinity, he was appointed to a parish; but this he only consented to accept on certain conditions. These were, that he should not be obliged to observe the ceremonial of the Romish Church; that he might administer the communion in both kinds; and that he should have full liberty to preach against the mass and holy-water, and all other instruments of Romish superstition. The liberty awarded him he did not fail to use; and while he carefully instructed the people in the meaning of Scripture, and its doctrines, as well as warned them against the danger of these long-standing errors of the dominant Church, he had the satisfaction to see that his labours were not without their reward. The people gradually entered into his views, recognized the importance of the lessons which he taught them, and withdrew from the angry monks the wages that had been paid them for the work of deceiving men's souls.

It is again worthy of observation, that the first steps toward reform were taken by men of equal learning and piety. Capito and Œcolampadius were of a character the most unlikely to be influenced by any unfair principles of action. Another safeguard against the operation of dishonest motives, in their instance, was to be found in the situation which they both occupied in the early stages of their career. We accordingly see that their mode of promoting the objects of the Reformation savoured as little as possible of enthusiasm, and exhibited none of those sterner traits of zeal which are common in the actions of those who

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have been less carefully trained to thought and inquiry. But it was not to these eminent men alone that Basil was indebted for its instruction in the lessons of evangelical religion. William Farel joined them in 1524, and in a public disputation with the Roman-catholic clergy, stated his arguments so clearly and forcibly, that the magistrates issued an order, that, for the future, the simple Word of God should form the foundation of all preaching. The disputation had been forbidden by the bishop's vicar, and the rector of the university, as soon as the nature of Farel's propositions was fully understood. Their dislike to the meeting had only been overruled by the firmness of the senate; but the success of the reformer inflamed them with increased anger; and, to prevent worse consequences, the accomplished disputant retired from the city to renew his labours under more favourable auspices.

Instances of the awakened attention of the people were daily increasing. The preachers of the reformed doctrines kept them awake to the importance of the subject, and directed their thoughts to the points most necessary to be considered, by the circulation of themes, couched in familiar language, and referring to facts which could hardly be disputed. It was plain to the most ordinary intellects, that a state of things in which the common laws of morality were violated, under the plea of cultivating the strictest purity, ought not to be allowed. And this was undeniably the case with the clergy of these times. While marriage was refused them, as inconsistent with their spiritual calling, concubinage prevailed, as if the churchman's special and authorized privilege. Against this open scandal the reformers, in defending their own honourable assertion of Christian liberty, directed their weapons with so much force, that other parts of the system which fostered it trembled equally beneath the blow. The commencement of a great moral change was the speedy result of these efforts; and as the foundations were torn up on which the structure of superstition had so long stood, the people happily discovered below the everlasting pillars of truth and holiness,—the preparations

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for a Church, which itself became visible as soon as they were conscious that they had communion with God's Spirit. While the influence of the reformed doctrines was thus working its way in neighbourhoods peculiarly favoured, other districts were arousing themselves to inquiry; and the whole country soon presented indications of a commencing struggle, more important than any that had yet taken place, even in that land, where the people owed every thing that was precious to the free exercise of their energies. The cantons which still remained firmly opposed to the sentiment of reform, made preparations for resistance in the best manner they were able. They appear to have considered that it would be impossible for a union to continue between districts, some of which were vigorously advancing under the impulse of an enlightening spirit, while the others clung heavily to the earth, and refused to be either dragged or impelled forward by this new principle of life. Deputies were therefore sent to Zurich from Lucern, Freyburg, and several other cantons. They were charged with the duty of representing to the senate of that city the grief which their countrymen had felt on account of the late commotions. Accompanying this expression of mingled alarm and remonstrance with that of a somewhat stronger feeling, they added, that the cantons from which they came had determined to break off all connexion with that of Zurich, unless it should cease from prosecuting its present plans of reform.

These threats produced no effect upon those to whom they were addressed. Though the temper of the remonstrants was clearly shown by the execution of several persons found guilty of breaking images,* Zuingle, and

* Nicholas Hottinger was the first put to death on this account. Whatever we may think of the cruelty of the punishment inflicted for the offence, an offence it was, and the insult which it inflicted on those who venerated the images must, under any circumstances, have provoked a severe retaliation. The magistrates were placed in a difficult position. On the one side the preachers contended that the prisoner had done nothing contrary to the Word of God, and that his only fault was not having waited for their orders to throw down the image. Hottinger was sentenced to imprisonment for two years. He accordingly retired to Baden, where, in consequence of the decree

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his associates, gained fresh successes every day; and they had the gratification to find that the magistrates were ready, on all occasions, to aid them in their labours. The question respecting the mass was still agitated, and the reformed ministers saw that some of the most objectionable of the rites, with which it was mixed up, were yet practised, to the great injury of the common people.

Their complaints, on this subject, led to a disputation, in which Zuingle was met by the Roman-catholic advocate Joachim à Grut, one of the secretaries of the council, and evidently a man of knowledge and ability.* His appeal was couched in the earnest language of conviction, and he had, no doubt, every reason to complain when the reformers appeared to him to be urging the magistrates to a proceeding which would seriously wound the consciences of the defeated party. "I ought not," he said, "to intrude myself before this assembly, but I cannot refrain, while I see the means of our salvation, and our faith, in peril. Believing that the very body and blood are in the bread and wine, I must not suffer myself to be driven from this conviction, and I hope, and pray, that you will not use force to oblige me to adopt the opinion of Zuingle, so abhorrent to my feelings." Then turning to Zuingle, whom he accused of darkening the subject by sophistry, he stated the usual arguments for the real presence, which were readily answered by Engelhard, who observed, that there is a three-fold mention of the body of Christ in the Sacred Scriptures. Thus the body which he derived from his mother, and in which he felt hunger and thirst, pain and pleasure, and, at last, suffered on the cross, is distinctly spoken of: so also is that glorified body in which he rose from the dead: and, lastly, there is his mystical body, which is the Church. "Now let us inquire," he continued, "which of these bodies was given to his disciples? It was certainly not the first, for that could not have been eaten, except by mastication, like other food; and from

passed at Lucern, he was apprehended, shamefully tried a second time, and soon after executed. Ruchat. t. I., liv. ii., p. 205; Gerdes, t. I., p. 290.

* Olim pontificii juris doctor, nunc vero pauperis Christi discipulus, vir gravi judicio. Gerdes, t. I., p. 319.

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such a kind of eating Christ warned his people when he said, 'The flesh profiteth nothing;' desiring thereby to convince them, that no eating after this manner could produce the effects desired; and if, indeed, they had thus eaten, they would have partaken of him in a manner different to us, for he had not then been broken upon the cross. Since, therefore, he denies that a corporeal eating could profit the soul, he evidently did not intend these words, 'This is my body,' to be understood of the natural body, as if the bread were the body, for the body being but flesh, could in this sense profit nothing. Nor can this sentence refer to the body in the second sense, for the disciples had not the body before them which had been slain, and raised from the dead; and, in the next place, that glorified body, rendered most pure and resplendent by the resurrection, inhabits heaven, and will there remain, at the right hand of God, till the day of judgment. And looking at the third sense, in which the words may be taken, it is equally plain, that they cannot refer to the mystical body of Christ, or the Church, for the Church is not the head, nor is it the body offered for our redemption."

Many attempts were made by the disputants on either side, to give greater force and clearness to their several arguments. Zuingle confesses, that he laboured hard to accomplish this desirable object. "We used every exertion," he says, "to bring forward proofs unconnected with the language of parables. We considered, and reconsidered the subject, but nothing new occurred to our minds." At length the day arrived which had been appointed for the final examination of the matter before the council. No slight anxiety was felt respecting the issue of the debate on the occasion; and Zuingle was evidently somewhat dissatisfied that he could throw but little new light upon the views which he had so long supported by the best exertions of his intellect. The mind of such a man, working under the powerful excitements ministered by a profound love of truth, and the most earnest desire to establish it in the hearts of others; acted upon, on the other side, by the strong feelings that result from a sense both of personal and general danger,

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a mind constituted like his, and thus influenced, could hardly cease from its activity; and whatever marvel might be made, for the sake of creating wonder, there is in reality but little of the wonderful in the circumstance, that in the very hour of preparation for a great struggle, it was found to operate with an increased intensity of perception.

Zuingle states, but with an acknowledged fear that he might be exposing himself to the ridicule of the world,* that on the eve of the day on which he was to meet his antagonists, he had sunk into a deep slumber, when some monitor, whether good or bad, he could not say, addressed him, exclaiming, "O foolish! answer according to what is written in Exodus xii. 11; namely, "It is the Lord's passover!" "On hearing this," he says, "I immediately awoke, and straightway referring to the Septuagint, found the words according to the direction which I had received. I discoursed upon them before the whole council; and conviction followed my address, for many there were who readily admitted the force of my arguments, when not intermixed with parables." The consequence of this strange affair was highly important to the reformers. A large accession was made to their body. The magistrates would no longer allow even a remnant of the accustomed rites to appear. In a few days the altars were broken down, and their place supplied by simple tables. Every thing else was arranged in a corresponding manner; and the strictest adherent to the doctrines of Zuingle could have no reason to complain of the want of zeal or resolution on the part of the council. Whether all was done with as much attention to the rights of conscience, as to the interests of the new party, is matter of very reasonable doubt; and the satisfaction of an observer who looked to the combination of truth and charity, as the only sure safeguard to any kind of religious system, must have been greatly diminished, when he heard the defeated adherents to the old creed petitioning for one church only, in which to worship as formerly, and saw them unhesitatingly and sternly refused.

* Melchior. Adami Vitæ Theolog., p. 20.

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It was not to be expected that proceedings like these would escape censure on the side of those who, though anxious for a reformation of doctrine, had no wish to take Zuingle for their guide. Luther, and all the most distinguished of the German divines, viewed his opinions on the sacrament as rash and unscriptural. The publication of what had occurred in the conference before the council enabled them to use argument and satire by turns, as it best suited their purpose. While some ridiculed the very mention of a vision, others gravely asserted that it was certainly the offspring of Satan, and that thus it was fully proved that the whole system of the Swiss reformer was but an invention of the father of lies. The injustice of such attacks is evident. Zuingle did not refer to his dream as giving authority to any part of the system which he taught. He but described, in speaking of it, the manner in which a certain mode of reasoning had been suddenly suggested to his thoughts. An argument is not either the better or worse in itself from the state of the mind when it is conceived, or from the circumstances which have led to a peculiar train of reflection. It is plain, that if Zuingle had never named his dream, his reasoning would have been fully as sound, and his quotation from Scripture as applicable to the point in dispute. His account of the matter was probably just such as any man of ingenuous and ardent disposition would have given; and, at the worst, he can only be charged with having endeavoured to bestow a factitious value on his address at the moment of delivery. His arguments, remaining to be considered, had to be tried by the same test as all other proofs of a certain proposition; and the slightest candour, therefore, on the part of his enemies, would have taught them to separate the ridicule which might attach to his credulity, from the sound logic which might be discovered in his reasoning.

The sacrament of the Lord's Supper was administered with great solemnity, according to the new form, on the 13th of April 1525. A seal was thus set to the hopes and promises of success, which had first encouraged the

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reformers in their work. This part of their labours accomplished, they wisely turned their attention to the methods by which they might best secure a continued harvest of true conversions to God. The study of Scripture was happily taken for their sheet-anchor. In all the various degrees of faith and knowledge, in every branch of society, this was to be the grand support of doctrine, and the nurse of holy dispositions. They accordingly instituted a sort of daily service, the principal feature of which consisted in the reading of portions of the Bible. This was done, first, in the original languages, and then in the translation; so that, while the people in general had the advantage of hearing the best scholars of the day interpret the divine word, their teachers themselves were led to the cultivation of those higher branches of critical theology, so beneficial, when combined with spiritual-mindedness, to the preservation of sound doctrine. There must always have been reason to fear that such a system would fall into disuse when the members of the reformed Church became more numerous, and the arrangements under which it was placed tended to an accommodation with the more usual notions of the world. But this practice of Scripture reading was a feature in the first stages of the Reformation, strongly characteristic of the faithfulness of those who promoted it. Nothing, moreover, could have been better adapted to the wants of the period. The people were gradually led to a familiarity with the Bible as affording proofs of doctrine, and the value which they saw set upon it, by men of known ability and judgment, would make them rejoice in the privilege, soon after to be awarded them, of having the sacred volume in their own houses, to minister the daily bread of heavenly knowledge to their children, and comfort them, with its blessed promises—the very language of God's love—in the hour of tribulation. For this purpose, the version of the Scriptures, begun in 1523, and founded on that of Luther, was completed; and the prayer of Zuingle, that the Lord would open the eyes of his people, and give them an understanding heart, rightly to interpret the sacred oracles, afforded at the

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same time both a test of his sincerity, and an earnest of the success that had attended his labours.*

It was in the year 1525, also, that this great and excellent man published his Treatise concerning True and False Religion, a work which has been compared to Melancthon's Loci Communes, and, in some respects, preferred.† Like Calvin, Zuingle dedicated his book to the King of France, assigning, as his chief reason for so doing, the amiable character of the monarch, his title of "most Christian," and the reputation of his people for virtue and religion. The most interesting part of this valuable volume is that which treats of the Eucharist, and some few other subjects, which formed, at the time, the peculiar topics of Swiss theology. He acknowledges, in his chapter on the communion, that he had been obliged originally to speak rather according to the time than the thing, and that what he was writing, therefore, at the age of forty-two, must be taken as a truer exposition of his opinions than what he published at forty.‡ The name of Eucharist, he then observes, was applied to the Lord's Supper by the antients, because it was an institution of grace and thankful remembrance. In partaking thereof, the believer shewed himself to be a member of the Church, one of those, that is, who confessed the value of Christ's atoning sacrifice. Whence, also, it is called by St. Paul a communion or communication, and excommunication was the title given to the punishment which separated offenders from the body of the faithful.

The sixth chapter of St. John had afforded strong

* Leo Juda and Caspar Grossmann had the chief share in this revisal of the German translation. A new version of some of the books was subsequently made, and the edition thus corrected appeared in the year 1529. But it was not till 1536 that the work was published in its complete form. Ruchat. l. c., p. 297. Gerdes, t. I., 328.

† Schröckh. t. II., p. 135.

‡ "As his sentiments on this subject were new, and he had every reason to expect the most lively opposition, he neglected nothing which might serve to establish them, and support his cause by the most convincing proofs. In this struggle he had the consolation of seeing all his colleagues, and the other theologians of the city, of the same opinion, and in perfect agreement with the views he had adopted. Thus they laboured in concert to finish the work of reformation, and to overturn the great idol of popery, that is, the mass." Ruchat. t. I., liv. ii., p. 300.

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arguments against the views which he was so anxious to establish. To give the right meaning of this portion of Scripture, was, therefore, a necessary part of his undertaking, and he boldly accuses his adversaries of having greatly perverted the Saviour's words, in order to furnish themselves with arms against the truth. "The meat, concerning which Christ speaks," says he, "is faith. Here, therefore, we discover the first plain traces that they have altogether erred, who suppose that Christ discourses in this chapter of the sacramental bread: for he commanded his hearers to seek the bread which perisheth not, which is to work the work of God, and that work is, to believe in his Son whom He hath sent. Faith, consequently, is the food of which he speaks. And the Jews accordingly asked him, 'What sign shewest thou, then, that we may see and believe thee?' &c. Jesus replied, that Moses gave them not that bread from heaven, but that his Father gave them the true bread from heaven. 'For the bread of God is He which came down from heaven, and giveth life unto the world.' The bread, that is, which Moses gave, sustained the body; that which God gives sustains the soul, and is so abundant and efficacious, that it may bestow life upon the whole world. When the Jews could not understand the word of Christ, which was but an explication of the gospel, for by eating bread he meant believing the gospel, they said to him, 'Lord, evermore give us this bread.' To which he answered, 'I am the bread of life,' &c. Faith, therefore, is that which so fully satisfies hunger and thirst. But what kind of hunger and thirst? Those truly of the soul, so that faith is that which alone contents the mind, and fulfils all its desires." After further reasoning of this nature, he concludes, that Christ, in this chapter, by bread and by eating, intended his hearers to understand the gospel, and belief in its blessed revelations, and did not in anywise refer to the bread of the sacrament. Again, "When Christ declares that the flesh profiteth nothing, human rashness ought never to have ventured upon urging a mere eating of the body. And if it be said, that the flesh of Christ does, notwithstanding, very greatly profit,

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seeing that we are redeemed thereby, we acknowledge this to be true; but then it is not the flesh as eaten, but as sacrificed, that produces this blessed effect. The Jews were disputing concerning eating, not about sacrificing. To this, therefore, Christ directed his discourse. Whatsoever, then, theologians may say respecting the essential body of Christ, or corporeal flesh, they will never do any thing else than shew that they are more stupid and more obstinately opposed to the merciful instruction of the Saviour, than the Jews themselves. For the Jews, adhering to their notions concerning the visible flesh, deserted Christ rather than hear his doctrines; whereas our theologians seem to say, 'O Jesus! there is no need of this statement, for we well enough understand that you speak of the flesh which may be seen and touched, and that it behoves us to eat thereof, if we would be saved. Thou, who knowest the hearts and the thoughts of men, hast been vainly cautious in saying, that the flesh profiteth nothing; for we, being more powerful in our dominion than thou, shall easily, by skilful language, succeed in compelling all men to acknowledge that they eat thy flesh, and when they eat perceive it to be indeed thy flesh and thy blood.' . . . . 'Wherefore, if thou shouldst still desire to establish this saying, that the flesh profiteth nothing, we must separate from thee; for it is better that we should leave thee, than that we should give up our creed and our gain.' Be not offended, good reader, at this our irony, for you shall see that we can use no other mode of address when we have to deal with so stupid a set of men, who have compelled their senses to speak contrary to their own experience. When Christ had plainly taught, that there is an eating which pertains to the spirit, not to the mouth, he continued, 'The words which I speak unto you, they are spirit, and they are life.' But it is well known that the Jews understood by this expression of 'the word,' both things, and the causes of things, and their history. Whence Christ is to be regarded as saying, 'This of which I have spoken to you is the Holy Spirit, which gives life to those who put their trust in him. And it is because so few of you

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understand, or receive him, that the number of believers is so small.' This is the head of the whole address. 'I announce to you the gospel, and you believe not: but I myself am the gospel, and speak thus obscurely, only to avoid setting an example of pride or arrogance. Still it behoves me to say what the Father wills, and, therefore, I now tell you that I am He whom my Father promised to the patriarchs—the true bread of the soul, the certain salvation, and the infallible pledge of hope. He, therefore, who trusts in me is safe; for he perceives within himself, as soon as he has reposed all confidence on me, a comforted conscience, and a soul recovered from despair, looking forward with joy to the certain possession of everlasting salvation.'"

Zuingle observes, that he treated thus fully and particularly of the sixth chapter of St. John, because that from this portion of Scripture the Roman theologians had drawn most of their arguments for the abuse of the Eucharist, boldly or ignorantly resting in error, rather than looking to the simple truth. Faith had taught him, he adds, the sense in which to interpret the chapter; and believing, as he did, that Christ alone was the infallible pledge of salvation, he would trust to no elements of this world, to nothing of sense, as proper to confer that blessing. "Should any one object still further to this view of the subject, I would reply," he says, "by asking whether he proposed the doubt of his own accord, or as induced by others. If thou art a believer, thou knowest on what salvation depends, and the Word of God is so potent with thee, that thou canst not have to inquire concerning the flesh. But if others have spoken to thee of what we think, I answer, that I think the same as the Church of Christ, which admits no question as to whether the body of Christ be really, essentially, or corporeally present in the sacrament. For when these earthly elements are exhibited, it opposes this shield, 'The flesh profiteth nothing.' And if thou shouldst call the heaven and earth, the stars and seas to witness, still would I answer nothing else but this, 'The flesh profiteth nothing.' To every too curious questioner, let this be the wall of brass, 'The flesh profiteth

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nothing.' Go now and prepare all thy machines, catapultas, battering-rams, and whatever else thou mayst choose, so far shalt thou be from having the power to pull down this defence, thou shalt not be able even to shake it."

The author treats, in the next place, of the distinction which exists between the perceptions of the senses and faith. Acknowledging that his adversaries affirm rightly, when they say, that all things are of faith, he observes, "We deny not this, but we know what is faith, and what is sense. If any one be ignorant of this, or suppose us ignorant of it, he is only endeavouring to involve the light in darkness. Faith exists in the heart through the Spirit of God. And this we confess, for it is not an obscure thing, but a manifest affection of the mind, though not perceptible by the senses. Our opponents, on the contrary, regard faith, not voluntary, as the free attention of the mind to a certain object, and hence proclaim that corporeal and sensible flesh is present in the sacrament. In this they are twice deceived; for, first, they suppose that faith proceeds from the judgment and election of man; whereas, if we have faith, or any confidence, in things far removed from the senses, it arises not from our judgment, or free choice, but those very things to which we refer our hopes, produce that tendency of our hopes to themselves. For if by our own choice, or counsel, we were rendered faithful, all men would be believers, even the impious, and that by their own power. Since faith, therefore, springs neither from sense nor reason, nor relates to things sensible, it is easily seen, that our opponents fall into a second error, for they desire to employ faith on things belonging to the senses, when what is perceived by the senses has no need of faith. 'For what a man seeth, why doth he yet hope for?' Sensible things are proposed to the senses by which they are to be apprehended. Let us see now in what way these matters agree. We believe, by faith, that the corporeal and sensible flesh of Christ is here present: by faith things are believed that are far removed from sense. But all corporeal things are sensible in such a way, that unless they be perceived, they are not corporeal. To believe

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and to perceive, therefore, are two different things. Observe, then, the contradiction of this speech. I believe that I eat sensible and corporeal flesh. Yet if it be corporeal, there is no need of faith, for it is perceived; and things which are known already by the senses cannot require the exercise of belief. On the other hand, if you believe that you eat the body which you believe to be present, it cannot be an object of sense. Our theologians, therefore, show that they are ignorant of the meaning of the passage, when they say that the bread is flesh; for, if it were so, it must have been discovered by sense, not by faith; for faith refers not to things, nor to that which is presented to the senses. Nor ought they, we think, to be listened to, who, whilst they plainly perceive that such an opinion is not only frivolous, but impious, contend, notwithstanding, that the true and corporeal flesh of Christ is really though spiritually, eaten. For they see not how impossible it is, that that which is a body should be spiritually eaten; nor that body and spirit are so essentially different that, whichever you take a thing to be, it cannot be the other also. If it be spirit, it follows by the certain relation of contraries, that it is not body; if body, that it is not spirit. Whence, to eat corporeal flesh spiritually, is nothing else than to assert that that which is body is spirit."

The rest of the argument is followed up in the same minute manner. "We have reason to be cautious," says the author, "for our controversy is with men who hope to establish a character for the greatest piety, by the greatest cruelty." The meaning of the verb *is*, in the disputed sentence, furnishes abundant room for argument. That it ought to be taken as having the force of *to signify*, is shewn by reference to the well-known passages so often quoted in this controversy. When the Saviour said, I am the vine, or the door, or the light, was he literally so? asks our author.* "Christ, in saying, 'I am the vine,' meant but, 'I am in respect to you as a vine.' Who, then, finds cause for offence here? Let faith be consulted, and if it should answer that the word *is*, in this sentence, ought not to be taken

* De Eucharistia, p. 261.

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in its simple meaning, let faith be obeyed, and let us not fear those whom we see so capable of daring every kind of impiety; for however they may rage, never shall they be able to pluck the truth from our hands. But if faith refuse to acknowledge the sense attempted to be put upon the word, as we have shown it must, then will we look for another meaning, whatsoever unlearned and impious men may say. We assign, therefore, the sense of *signifying* to the verb *is*, in this passage; yet not as our own judgment, but as that of the eternal God,—for we can glory in nothing which Christ has not wrought in us. It has, moreover, been sufficiently proved that, whensoever faith is of the invisible God, and tends to the invisible God, it is altogether foreign to sense; and that whatsoever is body—whatsoever is sensible—can in nowise become an object of faith. But see how every thing agrees in the interpretation which we have given. Behold, O faithful soul, hitherto enslaved by absurd opinions, how the sense harmonizes—how nothing is taken away—nothing added. Christ took the bread, gave thanks, brake it, and gave it to his disciples, saying, 'This which I give you to eat is the symbol of my body betrayed for you; and that which I now do, do ye also hereafter in remembrance of me.' Does not this sentence, 'Do this in remembrance of me,' plainly indicate that the bread was to be eaten in commemoration of him? The Lord's Supper, therefore, as St. Paul calls it, is the commemoration of the death of Christ, and not a remission of sins; for that Christ's death itself alone effected. But what is it to commemorate that event? It is to declare its efficacy; to rejoice in it; to praise the mercy of Him who, as St. Peter says, has called us out of darkness into his marvellous light.* Thus Paul also teaches us that it is to be repeated, even unto the end of the world, when Christ shall come to judgment, and that it should take place with exhortations and thanksgivings. Whence the Greeks have named it a Eucharist."

An ingenious view is next taken of the consecration of the wine. That the cup is a symbol of the new tes-

* 1 Pet. ii. 9.

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tament appears plainly, it is argued, from the words of Christ. But, it is remarked, he did not say, "This cup, which is the new testament, is my blood:" but "This cup is the new testament in my blood;" and things of which the one is in the other, are properly and really distinct. "Why," then, it is asked, "when Matthew and Mark said 'This is my blood of the new testament,' did Luke and Paul say 'This cup is the new testament in my blood?' This is a curious diversity; for the former call it the blood of the testament, the latter call it the testament of the blood, that is, the instrument or the sign of the testament, which has its force in Christ's blood. And this distinction was intentionally made; for Luke and Paul, as they wrote after the others, added somewhat of clearness to their expressions, and provided against the errors of future times." This line of observation is pursued by a consideration of the force of the article in the passages referred to; but it is cautiously remarked, "We trust that no one will be offended by these our anxious inquiries into verbal niceties; for we do not rest upon them, but on this one sentence, 'The flesh profiteth nothing;' for that is sufficient to shew that the word *is* means in this place *signifies*, and would thus lead us to the true sense of the passage under examination, though it had nothing in itself to conduct us to this interpretation."

Reference is also made to the language of St. Paul, when he speaks of "The cup of blessing," an expression, it is said, clearly pointing to the mercy of God—to the riches of Christ's grace, under this symbol of his blood. In the same manner, "The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ?" is spoken of as affording the true symbol of unity, and in the faithful partaking of which the people of Christ become members of his body, and of each other. "Hence," concludes the author, "it is clearer than the sun, that circumcision, and the passover, which without shedding of blood, availed not, were changed by Christ, who, shedding his own blood, stopped that of any other sacrifice, into those elements so beneficial to mankind. Thus the severity of the law, consecrated by the blood of

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beasts, and into which men were initiated by the blood of circumcision, was converted into the offer of grace. In Christ, who consecrated the eternal testament with his own blood, we are initiated by the sprinkling of water, whereby we are taught that the fires of sacrifice are extinguished. In the paschal commemorations and festivities, the Israelites celebrated their deliverance from Egyptian bondage. But that no trace might remain of the bloody law, Christ ordained that the festive commemoration of events, the most beneficial to man, should take place with bread and wine. And in this manner baptism is our circumcision, and the Eucharist is our passover; that is, the feast and commemoration of our redemption. False, therefore, is that doctrine which would lead us to regard the use of this symbolical bread as efficacious to the taking away of sin; for Christ alone, in dying, took away sin; and he died but once, as the whole of the Epistles to the Romans and to the Hebrews most plainly teach. His once dying avails continually to the removal of sin. It is an error, consequently, to assert that this bread is a work, or an oblation, which, offered up daily, expiates our offences."

Zuingle quotes, in the next place, two syllogisms which he had before employed in discussing this subject. In the former of these, it is said, "The new covenant is eternal, and therefore the blood on which it depends is eternal. But the blood of Christ was only once offered, for it was the eternal blood of the eternal Son of God. Therefore, the blood of Christ, once offered, remains for ever, for the remission of sins." The following syllogism consists mainly in these points. Christ was offered only when he suffered, poured out his blood, and died. But Christ cannot die again, or pour out his blood, and suffer; "for Christ," says St. Paul,* "being raised from the dead, dieth no more; death hath no more dominion over him, for in that he died, he died unto sin once, but in that he liveth, he liveth unto God!" Therefore, Christ cannot be offered any more, for he cannot die. "How manifest it is,"

* Rom. vi. 9.

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adds our author, "when these things are considered, that the Roman Pontiff and his adherents have audaciously imposed upon the simplicity of Christians. For what have they not done by their massing? Whole kingdoms have been given them, that they might eat the Lord's Supper for us, which, notwithstanding, they eat not at all, but pretend to offer up Christ himself as an atonement for our sins. If this custom were derived from the apostles, or the first disciples of Christ, surely we should be able to find some example of its being practised. But when the mass has no foundation in the institutions of Christ, or his apostles, why should we endure so impudent a traffic in the temple, that is, in the Church of God, a traffic so calculated to cast infamy on the cause of Christ? Why do we not command all the mass-sayers to desist from such an atrocious scandal? For if it be necessary to offer up Christ daily, it must follow that his own single offering on the cross was not enough, than which assertion can there be any more unworthy or offensive? Let there be no more masses, then; but let us return to the Lord's Supper, according to the institution of Christ."

The priesthood of Christ is next treated of; and it is shown that no one could take that office except he were able, like Christ, to die, the just for the unjust; and that, as this is impossible, it is impious to speak of a sacrificing priesthood. To the argument derived from the language employed in describing the services of the Christian ministry, it is answered, that a spiritual service only was meant, and that, as if to avoid the danger of an erroneous view of the subject, the word λειτουργειν is not once used in reference to the Lord's Supper. Hence it is inferred that, by whatever name we call the mystery, it is nothing more than a commemoration, by which they who firmly believe themselves reconciled to the Father, through Christ's sufferings, proclaim his life-giving death, and manifest their gratitude for the deliverence it has wrought. As a sign of communion with him, and his spiritual members, it afforded in the primitive times the readiest means for preserving the purity of the Church; and had the same

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use continued to be made of it, the life and conversation of Christians could never have ceased, it is urged, to exhibit the influence of a holy faith. "We have all sought," adds the author, "to obtain salvation by masses, whereas, the Supper of the Lord itself, however rightly administered, cannot serve as an atonement for sins, for this alone belongs to Christ. It is a sacrament, testifying that we are devoted to Christ in the Church, which testimony, indeed, if we do not faithfully keep, we are driven from the brotherhood, in order that Christian purity may be the more effectually preserved. And what has taken place since this rule of life and manners was altered? Even this, a thing universally apparent, that, in the conduct of our life, we have become more infamous than Jews and Turks. And whence has this monster sprung, but from the seed sown in hearing, reading and establishing masses? No one will deny, I believe, that we have fled to the mass as a sheet anchor. Nay, that we have arrived at such a height of madness, as to believe that the mere sight of the bread is salutary. Not contented even with this, we have adored what we have looked upon, forgetting our own profession, set forth in the writings of both antients and moderns, that the simple humanity of Christ is not to be adored, since adoration is due to God alone, and no one has seen God at any time. How is it, then, that we worship what we see, when God only is to be worshipped, and Him we can never see? What will they say to this, who teach that the Eucharist ought to be adored?"

In the next section of his argument, Zuingle quotes the testimony of Tertullian, Origen and Augustine, to the consistency of his views with the antient belief of the Christian Church. At the conclusion, he says, "We have cited these passages from the gravest of the fathers, not to support, by human authority, a doctrine manifest in itself, and confirmed by the word of God, but that it may be seen by the meek, that we are not the first who have set forth this opinion, or, perhaps, the least prepared, for I call God to witness that, for his glory alone, I have for years conferred on this subject privately with

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many learned men, being unwilling to publish any thing hastily, or likely to excite the multitude; but the more I have conversed with about the matter, the more have I found ready to acknowledge the correctness of my views. Most earnestly, therefore, have I besought the Lord, that this doctrine may find its way into the minds of the simple, as essential to their edification, and most profitable to the Church. . . . . To us, thus anxiously imploring aid, he was present. We concluded that if the mass were done away, the Eucharist would be restored to its proper place. I saw that nothing was of greater importance than the view taken of the sixth chapter of John, where that unbroken adamant, 'The flesh profiteth nothing,' shines so brightly forth in its own proper colours and nature, that whatsoever strikes it, it still stands firm, and every thing that falls upon it marks it not, but is itself broken. Next to this, the passage, 'No one hath seen God at any time,' seemed most opportune. Here it is forbidden us to adore what is seen or felt; and, lastly, there was to be considered the proper use and intention of the Eucharist, which, once understood, must of themselves be sufficient to overthrow the vain hopes and portentous notions of the contrary opinion."

Having repeated the principal points in the former part of his argument, he remarks that, "if we are to believe that the real body of Christ is present in the sacrament, two faiths are profitable to salvation, the one whereby we trust in Christ; the other by which we believe that the bread is flesh; for it is said, unless you believe this, you cannot be saved. Behold how, in the midst of light, human reason, willingly and knowingly, has brought in darkness, in order that by its glosses it might obtain glory among the simple. For what could have induced Thomas Aquinas, and Duns Scotus, to strive so much for the change of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, but the pride of wit? They have imitated, indeed, the conduct of unskilful physicians, who, that they may seem erudite, foretel, and then provoke, the increase of a malady, which they next subdue, and account themselves prodigies of

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science. Thus they have told us that the body of Christ is here eaten, and then have invented marvellous labyrinths out of which weak and dull minds find it impossible to escape; while they, who are determined to look more attentively into the matter, are persecuted, and branded with the name of heretics. When this bread was to be sold at a certain price, it became necessary to invent something more, that its value might be further increased. Thus they made the bread flesh, that word being wholly neglected, 'The flesh profiteth nothing.' Earnestly, therefore, do I intreat those who read what we have written; earnestly do I beseech them by that faith, whereby we hope for salvation, not suddenly to condemn, or cast aside, what they hear, even though it should, at first sight, appear absurd, but to pray the Lord that he may afford them the pure light of understanding, whereby what is true, right and holy, may be acceptable to their minds. The face of truth is gladsome, and in nowise supercilious, though free from flattery. Whence it is, that they who have a bad conscience, dare not look fairly at her; but when they have, again and again, made the attempt, straightway they begin to be offended. May the almighty and most blessed God so aid us, that we may learn that that is the true religion, in which the soul rests on Him, and on Him alone; seeks to imitate Him alone; to please Him alone, and dwells entirely on His will! May He help us, on the other hand, to see that the elements of the world cannot render us better, but that in setting too high a value upon them, we detract from the honour of our God! In this manner it will come to pass, that what hitherto we have expended in the worship of the abomination which, according to Daniel, stood in the holy place, we shall give for the use of the poor, truly thereby honouring our Saviour Christ; and, instead of deceiving ourselves by false pretensions, shall adhere firmly to the one true God, by that eternal pledge of his love, even his own only begotten Son."

Such are the views, taken by the Swiss reformer, of the doctrine of the Eucharist. The arguments employed are of a popular kind, and are treated in the

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style which was likely to become more in use, as the great themes of theological speculation began to be studied by mankind at large. But far from being the less valuable because familiarly expressed, the noble series of arguments, on which Protestantism re-established Christian truth and liberty, derived much of its excellence from the necessity which transfused it through a medium of popular rather than scholastic language. Theology, like every other branch of knowledge, must gain in strength and richness when its teachers are obliged to understand distinctly what they themselves mean, and to communicate it with corresponding clearness to those whom they engage to instruct. This is not repugnant to the sublime spirit of religious mystery; nor does it savour of the wanton pride that would level the heights of Sinai, or Sion, till they might be crept over by the basest idler; for it is not by the fearless subtlety of haughty disputants that great truths are evolved, much less that they are well taught, or firmly defended. It is under the broad, the freely flowing light of day, that our eyes can best study the blessed harmonies of nature. For excitement we may seek obscurer tints; for some peculiar inquiry we may employ the concentrated beams that magnify objects a thousand fold in brightness as well as measurement; but it is in the day that we can study best, and longest, the universal beauty and proportions of the system in which we live. And thus, too, in moral and spiritual contemplation. The light of pure simple reason, strengthened by its proper nourishment, guided by experience and a judgment superior to prejudice and caprice, is the honest guide to truth, as far as it is subject to the mere human understanding. And where it is not, divine wisdom alone promises an enlargement of the sphere of vision. Without this it is in vain to attempt the investigation of those awful mysteries, which are only so far revealed to reason as may enable it to understand their general importance; but to a pure and loving, as well as thoughtful, spirit, with a glory and distinctness which render their meaning familiar to the heart. In the controversies of mere polemics, words dark and diffi-

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cult are eagerly pressed into the service of the over-laboured intellect. The effort to remove one difficulty creates a hundred; and, like bankrupts, the alarmed disputants continue to support their credit by false shows of wealth, till exposure would be certain, were they not surrounded by others as badly off as themselves. But when the grand topics of divinity are to be expounded in the ears of large masses of mankind, and those who engage in controversy must first submit to the laws of good sense, and adopt some known standard of language, and acknowledge an authority to which a final appeal may be made, whatever becomes of the dispute itself, an enlarged acquaintance with many points of the subject is likely to be the consequence; and it is little to be doubted but that much light will be scattered here and there, and fall, at least, upon some minds to whom it will long be as a treasure unexpectedly acquired. The constant appeal to Scripture in the controversies which followed upon the Reformation produced a vital change in the substance of almost every argument that could be employed. It gave a species of worth even to the weakest, and provided an antidote to the most dangerous. The appeal to the people produced an habitual attention to clearness of expression. Sophistry could thus be the more easily detected, and the real sterling gold be more readily separated from the dross. By degrees the polemical mode of treating subjects yielded to the increasing force of truth and piety, and then was seen, in the writings of the well-taught scholar and divine, the manly energy of vigorous wisdom, lovingly expressing the influences of abounding grace.

Zuingle had not taken so conspicuous a part in the work of reform without encountering considerable personal risk. There will always be those, in periods of excitement, who imagine that they shall find favour with God by taking away the men whose arguments are least likely to be silenced. But the danger to which the Swiss reformer stood exposed was not of long duration. He had too soon a party in the country, powerful enough in itself to protect him, but rendered far

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stronger, and more certain in its movements, by the possession of a rightful and legal authority. A conference was proposed by the hostile cantons in 1526; and the place appointed for the meeting was the town of Baden. Such, however, was the feeling of the magistrates of Zurich on the subject, that they forbade Zuingle's acceptance of the challenge, plainly from no fear of his encountering Eckius in debate, but from the reasonable apprehension that it would not be quite safe to expose him to men who only desired his ruin. That heretics ought to be silenced, not by arguments, but by fire and sword, was the known sentiment of Eckius; and this principle had of late been fully wrought out in the barbarous execution of two preachers of the gospel, the one by hanging, the other by suffocation.*

The absence of Zuingle was no hinderance to the design contemplated in the meeting at Baden. A numerous body of representatives from the several cantons, with many eminent advocates of the Roman Catholic doctrine, assembled in the month of May. There were present to oppose them, in fair and open debate, Œcolampadius and some few others; but it was evident, that the meeting had at once assumed the character of a synod, with full authority to judge and condemn, rather than that of a free assembly disposed to appeal to Scripture and the Spirit of God. Eckius, who shared with Faber and Murner the burden of the day, proposed seven heads of argument, as a guide to those who might take part in the debate. These were—1. That the real body and blood of Christ are present in the Lord's Supper; 2. That they are verily offered both for the living and the dead in the celebration of the mass; 3. That the Virgin Mary and other saints are to be invoked as intercessors; 4. That the images of saints ought not to be taken away; 5. That there is a state of purgatory; 6. That infants are born with original sin; and 7. That the baptism, not of John but of Christ, removes this sin. Murner proposed, that two other propositions should be added to these. The first, that the adoration

A. D. 1526.

* Sculteti Annal., Dec. ii., p. 88.

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of Christ, as present in the bread and wine, is wholly free from idolatry, and that the administration of the sacrament in one kind ought not to be called sacrilege, or to be regarded as a depriving of the people of their rights: the second, that the late confiscation of ecclesiastical possessions was an act of sacrilege.*

Œcolampadius objected to these additions, but was soon deeply engaged with Eckius in bold and earnest debate. Zuingle, though absent, had not allowed the meeting to take place without exerting himself for the support of his cause. In his correspondence with the accomplished men who had less reason than himself to fear the malice of the enemy, he suggested numerous arguments, exhorted them to persevere stedfastly in the defence of the truth, and cheered them by that outpouring of his own vigorous spirit, which had from the first been the grand incentive to courageous action. Œcolampadius was worthy of standing in the place which would otherwise have been occupied by this great man. But the debate offered little of novelty to those who were already well acquainted with the main points in dispute. After it had been continued sufficiently long to diminish the vivacity of the speakers, and the patience of the hearers, it was put to the vote, whether the views of Eckius or Œcolampadius ought to be acknowledged as the ground-work of orthodox theology. Of the deputies called upon to answer this important inquiry, some escaped without exposing themselves to the danger of a definitive reply; a few openly expressed their attachment to the new doctrine, while the rest determined that Zuingle, the leader of the Reformation, and those who had taken part in the debate, should be excommunicated, as Luther had been treated by Charles V. and the Pope; and that the

* Ruchat., t. I., liv. iii., p. 371. It is complained, that while a splendid chair was provided for Eckius, Œcolampadius was miserably seated on one as bad. This was of little consequence; but it is further said, that Eckius was allowed to speak as long, as proudly as he chose, and to cast forth whatever rodomontades he pleased; while Œcolampadius was always stopped the moment he began to yield to his feelings. His friends did originally persuade him not to attend, lest he might suffer some bodily harm; and he replied, "I have no mind to go, nor shall I, unless a certain impulse drive me thither."—Hottinger, Helvetisch. Kirchen Geschicht., t. I., b. vi., p. 302.

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pontifical religion should by all means be firmly supported in their states.

Neither the one party nor the other gained, it is probable, any advantage by this meeting. The Catholics were soothed by the semblance of a triumph; but whether the cause itself be good or not, it is folly to imagine that it has advanced a step when only the clamours of its advocates have increased a degree in force. Generally speaking, perhaps, the louder the cry the less likely that the strength will last. Certain it is, that the Reformation lost nothing by decisions that prevented its being carried by acclamation, but rather obliged its friends to listen to the severe dictates of unprejudiced truth, and to attempt nothing which could not bear the sternest inquisition of both the world and their own consciences. Erasmus replied to a request that he would attend the meeting at Baden, by pleading ill health as an apology for declining to be present; but he added this remarkable expression of his sentiments, "I call God to witness, even Him who alone knows the hearts of men, and whose anger I deprecate, that there has never dwelt in my heart any opinion on the holy sacrament of the Eucharist, at variance with that which is supported by the universal consent of the Catholic church." With what sincerity this was said, or in what sense it was intended to be taken, will appear doubtful to most minds, when it is found that Erasmus wrote, about the same time, to another party, stating, that the opinion of Œcolampadius displeased him in no other way, but in that it agreed not with the doctrine of the Church. "For," he added, "I see not what an insensible body can do, nor what good would follow, if it were perceived; our great desire should be, that in the symbols, we may really find a spiritual grace. From the consent of the Church, however, I have never departed, nor can ever depart."

Zuingle had awaited the issue of the debate with an anxiety similar to that experienced by Luther, when, immured in his lonely retreat, he daily watched for communications from Melancthon at Augsburg. It was the wish of Zuingle to obtain a regular report of the

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proceedings from accredited notaries. Could this have been gained, he purposed despatching an answer to each part of the argument as it thus presented itself to his scrutiny. Failing in this respect, he next desired to see the whole of the discussion printed and circulated. But in this also he was disappointed, and he had to content himself with such a report of the proceedings as could be furnished by Thomas ab Hoffen, a man of candour and ability, but who had nothing to give authority to his report except his general character for honesty of purpose. The document was printed at Strasburg, and Wolfgang Capito added to the copies intended for Zuingle a letter, in which he earnestly exhorted him to favour, as much as in his power, this method of making the late proceedings public, and that, not only because the information thus gained might be most important to their cause, but because it would probably oblige the hostile party to allow the publication of reports, properly corrected and authorized. By some means or other, the packet containing both the books and the letter fell into the hands of Zuingle's opponents, and the affair was made use of to irritate the leaders, on both sides, to a more desperate onset. The firmness of the people of Zurich was further shown, at this time, by their diminishing the number of festivals, and other days of religious observance, till the only one remaining on their calendar was that of the Nativity.*

The zeal and resolution of Berchtold Haller, at Bern, proved a formidable obstacle to the efforts of the catholic party in that city. Notwithstanding their superiority in numbers, and the votes which they succeeded in passing, Haller retained his hold on the affections of many influential men. Amidst a crowd of enemies, therefore, he had still the means left him of preaching the pure Word of God, and of defying all attempts to make him celebrate the mass according to former usage. The unsettled state of opinion which continued to prevail, in spite of decrees on the one hand, and persuasion and argument on the other, exposed the canton to many evils; and a new attempt was therefore made, in

* Gerdes, t. II., p. 318.

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the early part of 1528, to calm the public mind by another solemn discussion of the questions at issue. In summoning the bishops and clergy of the neighbourhood to this meeting, the council employed the strong language of a body fully resolved to let nothing hinder, if not the success of its experiment, at least its power of trying it. Such as should refuse to attend, were threatened with the confiscation of whatever portion of their lands might lie within the territory of the canton.* To those who might secretly determine to arm themselves with subterfuge, and the favourite weapons of former days, it was plainly stated, that, throughout the conference, no weight would be allowed, no authority conceded, to any other record but that of the Old and New Testaments. While to those who might look to escape from the fair trial of strength, by the mere agitation of debate, it was said with equal plainness that, whoever took part in the conference, must refrain from clamour and abuse, and confine himself strictly to the argument, so that whatever was said might be correctly represented in the reports of the notaries.

To prevent the loss of time by a divided attention, ten propositions were drawn up, and presented to the meeting, as embodying the principal peculiarities of the reformed divines. In the first of these it was set forth, that the true Church is born of the Word of God, must ever remain in Him, and can hear no other's voice. In the second, that this Church establishes no laws that are foreign to the Word of God; and that traditions, therefore, can only be binding as they agree with that Word. Thirdly, it was stated that Christ alone has made satisfaction for the sins of the whole world, and, therefore, that to say that there is any other mode of expiating sin, is to deny Christ. Fourthly, that it cannot be proved by Scripture that the body and blood of Christ are actually and corporeally taken. Fifthly, that the mass in which Christ is presented to the Father, and offered for the living and the dead, is not to be defended by the testimony of the Divine Word, but lowers the value of the sacrifice offered up for us by

* Hottinger, t. I., b. vi., p. 394.

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Christ himself. In the sixth proposition, we read, that Christ alone is to be invoked, he being the sole mediator between God and man. In the seventh, that it does not appear in Scripture that there is any place where souls, after this life, are purified by purgatory, and that, therefore, all those prayers and solemnities, and burning of lamps and tapers for the dead, hitherto in use, are of no avail. In the eighth, that it is unscriptural to employ statues and images in religious worship; and that, if they have been put up in churches for that purpose, they ought to be removed. In the ninth, it is stated, that marriage is forbidden to no order of men: and, in the tenth, that while the whoremonger and adulterer is, in every case, denied admission into the Church, so, least of all, ought an impure and unholy priest to be tolerated in its courts.

A short time before the meeting of the assembly, Haller wrote to Zuingle, intreating him to take such a part in the approaching struggle as was consistent with his present circumstances. The reports, he said, were to be carefully penned, and these, it was thought, Zuingle might profitably collate and publish for the general use of the party. "I know," he added, "I know by my own experience, that the honour of God and of His Word, that the salvation of Bern, nay of all Switzerland, are objects of such care and affection to you, that you will not only do whatever may promote this holy cause, but will not refuse to be present yourself, for the honour of God, the benefit of the gospel, and the confusion of its enemies." The importance attached to the appearance of Zuingle is further shown by expressions occurring in the correspondence of other distinguished reformers. "Whatsoever happens, or whoever else may come," adds Haller, "be you present. Our houses and churches are open to you. Choose where you will. All shall be prepared for you, only be you prepared, as we hope, to come. Hasten your reply, and spare no expense, that what we promise concerning you may be amply fulfilled. For on this, that you are with us, hinges the whole affair. You understand our wants. Come, then, my brother, and do

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for our city what you alone can effect. I send you our conclusions. Add to them, take from them, modify them as you please. It will be something for you to have the opportunity of advocating that cause in the presence of the magistrates and clergy of Bern, which they would not permit you to plead in the meeting at Baden."

To this earnest and affectionate invitation, Zuingle returned a favourable answer; and Haller exclaims, "Now do I see, O most honoured Ulric! how unexpectedly the Lord has determined to promote his glory among us by you and Œcolampadius, since both of you have promised, if life be continued you, to be present at the conference. These are the auxiliary forces with which the Lord is pleased, in his goodness, to help me, weak and unworthy as I am, to bear the burden of such a business. And may the Lord confound at once all the arguments of the adversary! May they be quickly at hand who, to the great glory of God, shall utterly overcome them! We look for your arrival six or eight days before the time appointed for the assembly." He then speaks of the preparations made for the reception of these much desired visitors, and adds, "The oligarchy murmur in the corner; nor will endeavours be wanting to render our efforts void. But we will strive, with all our strength, to defeat these machinations of the devil, an end which could hardly be accomplished, unless you all came to our assistance."

The preparations for the meeting were regarded with no friendly eye by the catholic party. In the court of the Emperor its emissaries spoke loudly of the danger attending such conferences; and Charles, strangely facile on these occasions, to what he was in the ordinary course of his policy, allowed himself to be persuaded into sending a letter to the council of Bern, exhorting it to cease from its design. At the same time, another epistle arrived from several of the more zealous of the cantons, pressing similar arguments on the attention of their confederates. But happily the magistrates of this important division of the union were not to be easily dissuaded from the course they had adopted.

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There could plainly be nothing unjust in opening their halls to the leaders of each party, in allowing them ample opportunity to declare their sentiments, and then laying the result of the whole before the world, that it might form its judgment on simple facts, or, at least, on opinions fully and clearly stated. To the Emperor, therefore, they respectfully replied, that, as they had no other wish in proposing the expected conference, but that of eliciting truth, and restoring men's minds to that tranquillity which had been so long disturbed, they could not desist from their attempt. In a similar manner they answered the remonstrances of the cantons, which urged them to resist the efforts of the Reformers, and to continue firm in the profession of the religion which they had received from their forefathers. No slight degree of resolution was necessary to this conduct. The aspect of affairs became every day more threatening; and it was deemed expedient to prepare for a general attack by raising a small body of troops that might be ready to defend the city at a moment's warning.

When the important day approached, Zuingle set out from Zurich, surrounded by the chief men of the place, by a large body of the clergy, and a band of three hundred citizens, well armed to protect him against the hazards of the journey. Œcolampadius, Bucer, Capito, Bullinger, and other distinguished divines were also on their way to Bern; and every thing promised that the assembly would be worthy of the cause for which it was convened. None of the prelates who had been invited appeared at the meeting. The Bishop of Lausanne, in whose diocese Bern was situated, had been appealed to with arguments which it must have required no small degree of sternness, no slight feeling of the superiority of his rank and power to the fair progress of inquiry, to enable him to resist. Not less than three letters were addressed to this dignitary, intreating him, in the name of the senate, the clergy, and the people, to be present at the proceedings about to take place.

Joachim Vadianus, the consul of St. Gall, a man of

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great learning and piety, was chosen to act as president of the assembly. With him were associated four other distinguished scholars, and the proper report of the discussion was provided for by the appointment of four sworn secretaries. The main body consisted of about three hundred and fifty ministers and priests, together with the numerous members of the council, which formed the government of the district. Wisely exercising the authority given them, the president and his assistants would allow no statement to be insisted on, which was not confessedly drawn from the declarations of Scripture. This could not be accounted unfair in an assembly where full liberty of speech was allowed to both parties, and where each had consented to acknowledge the divinity of Revelation, and the fitness of rules, derived from such a source, to determine the value of arguments, and the correctness of doctrines. It is evident that, in any disputation, the parties engaged do well to determine first within what range they intend to confine themselves, or whether they resolve to roam at will over the limitless domains of imagination, as well as over those of learning and reason. Nor is it less plain, that no injury can happen to the cause of truth by such an adjustment as should, in the first place, very much limit the sphere of argument. Suppose that its defenders should consent for the moment to confine their reasoning to principles derived from some single source of information. Let the cause be tried according to this plan. On whichever side the issue be, the utmost gained or lost is this, that it could not be defended by the arguments, or on the principles, belonging to this particular sphere of knowledge. The value of this confession to the opposite side will, of course, be determinable by the comparative worth of the branch of argument to which the question has been referred. It is thus that a doctrine may be tried by the test of Scripture or tradition, or the disputants may pass off into the illimitable ocean of metaphysical speculation. This ought to be matter of preliminary consideration; but to whichever branch of reasoning it is thought advisable to confine the first excursions of inquiry, to that will truth and consistency

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restrict every step of the reasoning process. In the early controversies of the Protestants and Catholics, the neglect of this was the cause of much confusion and difficulty; and the worthy people of Bern acted with equal justice and wisdom in endeavouring to provide an antidote. It could not, with any show of reason, be denied, that the examination of doctrine by Scripture ought to form one portion, at least, of every religious discussion. Whether the inferences derived from that examination were to end the controversy, would be another question; and no injustice, therefore, could be involved in the simple direction, that, in a meeting taking place for the scrutinizing of a system said to depend on Scripture alone, Scripture alone should be used as the test of its pretensions and its honesty.

That Christ is the sole head of the Church, was the proposition with which the debate commenced. The usual arguments were urged on both sides, but according to the account given of this famous conference by Bucer, Tregarius, a provincial of the Augustines, took up the dispute in a manner which plainly indicated the unwillingness of his party to abide by the rule laid down. Thus he started with the broad assertion, that the people of Bern had no right to determine anything concerning religion, and that they were bound to abide by the acts of the Church and councils. To establish this censure, he endeavoured to prove, that as the Gospels were received by the judgment of the Church, the Church only was to be heard as the judge of faith and doctrine. By the Church, it appears, he intended the councils to be understood, which were represented as the only body free from error; and, therefore, supreme over all. "These notions," says Bucer, "were well known to us, and needed little refutation, since it is sufficiently manifest to men of piety, that it behoves us not to live by the faith of councils and pontiffs, but that not only single churches, but every individual, ought to know for himself what God commands, and what He promises; that all things depend on Christ, on works of piety, and on the love of our neighbour. Now, when the dogmas and institutions of the Church of

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Rome are so opposed to this, that every child, who can read the Scriptures, may see it, what reason can there be to wait for the determinations of councils, which so rarely assemble, and of late, have been of such a kind, that it would be less insane to endeavour to draw water out of a pumice-stone, than to look for piety in their resolves? The Scriptures are abroad, nor are those wanting who can faithfully interpret them to the people. That they may be received with faith, is beyond the power not only of councils, but of every created being, to order. God alone can do this; when, for Christ's sake, he bestows the Spirit which leadeth into all truth; and He gives this Spirit not to those who have listened to councils, but to those whom he hath chosen to be partakers of his grace before the foundation of the world. That all do not receive Scripture with the same feeling arises from this, that God does not give the Spirit in the same degree to all; and that many hypocrites are mixed up with the children of God; that the Father hath given to Christ alone the government of his people; and that the elect may know that, to whatever degrees of learning or piety men attain, all things depend on Christ."

These remarks exhibit some of the most striking features of the Swiss theology. Bucer was eminently qualified to state the feelings of his cotemporaries and the arguments by which they might best be justified. The favourite objection to the whole system of the Reformation appears to have been urged, at this period, with more than ordinary zeal. It had led, it was said, to the introduction of sectarianism, and destroyed thereby that happy unity which had hitherto formed the brightest ornament of the Christian world. To this Bucer answers, that wherever God's children are —wherever any traces exist of the reign of Christ—there Satan will be most busy; for why, it is asked, should he trouble himself about those who are already in his power? Hence it seemed good to the Heavenly Father to try his own people by divisions; and, therefore, it ought not to be concluded that Protestants are dealing with errors, and Roman Catholics with truth, because,

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while the former differ in some few things, the latter agree in their dogmas. Were this the case, it is added, Mahometans would have a better claim than the Roman Church to the honour of being in the right; for their perfect consent to the Koran throws completely into the shade the far less uniform agreement of one part of Christendom with the rest. Even the Apostles themselves did not all think in the same way concerning the Mosaic ceremonies; and the fair inference is, that the argument drawn from the divisions of Protestants cannot be admitted as a proof that the fundamental doctrines of their creed are wrong.

The Augustine monk seems to have struggled hard to get rid of the shackles imposed upon him by the rule laid down at the commencement of the debate. Scripture afforded him little help when he pressed for the absolute authority of his Church; and finding, at length, that it was in vain to strive against the sedate determination of the assembly, he complained that sufficient liberty was not allowed for the discussion, and that it was poison itself to endeavour to explain Scripture only by Scripture. This set the matter at rest, so far as the first proposition was concerned. Bucer and Capito wished to reply to such arguments as appeared to them more within the proper line of the debate; but the president judged that this would be to prolong the discussion to an unreasonable length; and that "the Church can give no commands which flow not from the Word of God" was proposed as the next subject for consideration. The allusions of Scripture to the traditions of the Apostles in respect to fasting, prayers and celibacy, formed the stronghold of the catholic advocates in this part of the discussion. But they could not prove, it is said, that any law was ever given whereby men were bound, as a matter of conscience, to observe these things at fixed and particular times; nor could it be denied that, to prohibit the use of certain meats, or marriage, is said in Scripture to be the doctrine of devils. "We ourselves teach," remarked the reformers, "that it is our duty to fast, to pray, and to live in purity and holiness. But Christ alone can give the Spirit, without whose aid

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nothing good can be done; and hence there will emanate from the Church no precepts but such as Scripture teaches, for the Church lives, and does all things according to the Spirit of promise." The third proposition appears to have been despatched in a similar manner. To the quotations which the Catholics brought in support of their view of human merit, it was answered that, whatever we can do, it is but the fruit of the Spirit of God, bestowed upon us of his own free grace.

But it was on the proposition which denied the real presence, that the weightiest part of the debate rested. Some of those who joined with the reformers in other points, here became their opponents. The literal meaning of the words, "The bread which I shall give is my flesh," was strenuously urged, and afforded a seemingly firm resting-place for the defenders of the mass. It was answered, however, that Christ himself declares, in the place referred to, that he spoke of the bread of which whosoever eateth hath eternal life; whereas it is well known that many have partaken of the Eucharist who have for ever lost the life of God. The words, "This is my body," were next cited; but it was allowed that they could not be taken in the most absolutely literal sense; and the passage, "The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ?" was, therefore, introduced, but with apparently as little success; for it was answered, that the Apostle referred here to nothing more than the society of Christ's members, partaking in the blessings of a common faith and worship.

The declaration respecting the unscriptural character of the mass was still less ably controverted. Not a pretext could be found, it is said, for defending it as derivable from the Word of God. So little, indeed, did the Roman Catholic party feel inclined to boast of success on this occasion, that, if our report be true, they apologized for their defeat on the grounds, that it was their want of arms which rendered them so easy a prey. That such was really the defence set up appears probable, from the earnest manner in which Bucer replies to the arguments on which it is supposed to be

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founded. "Eckius and Faber," he says, "and others with them, have written against us, and were closely engaged at Baden; and on these occasions they have not neglected to employ whatever weapons could be serviceable in their cause. If they were unarmed, then, at Bern, why did they not come better prepared? But what could these pretenders do? They know well enough that, when the battle is to be fought, not with tyranny, but with Scripture, they have no chance of victory."

Zuingle occupied, as had been intended, an important position in the assembly; and to him, with Haller and Œcolampadius, was intrusted the principal part of the dispute. Its results were highly favourable to the reformers. Orders were issued by the senate, which put aside the mass, and led to the immediate removal of the altars and images which had so long formed the ornament of their churches. Monasteries and convents were converted into schools; and the whole canton exhibited the cheering signs of a reviving religion and purer morals.* These changes were followed by others of a political character. The alliance with France, consequent upon which was the annual grant of many of the bravest of the people as mercenaries, now presented difficulties not to be easily overcome. A clearer view began to be taken of the duties and interests of the state. The minds of all classes of men were quickened to observation; and a happy sensitiveness to the distinctions of right and wrong; a ready appreciation of the value of public consistency and honour, wrought powerfully with the reformers, and assisted, in no slight degree, to purify many a political system which had exhibited as much of depravity as the worst maxims of a corrupted church.

The course which Bern had taken was speedily followed by other parts of the country. Zurich, Basil, St. Gall, and their dependencies formed already a noble defence to evangelical doctrine. Every day witnessed

* Sleidan says, that the events described were celebrated by the erection of a pillar, on which were engraved, in letters of gold, the date of the year and day when the Reformation was established. This circumstance is not mentioned by any other annalist, and is, therefore, of a doubtful character. T. I., liv. vi., p. 247. Gerdes, t. II., p. 362.

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their increasing zeal; and the disputes, which had for some time threatened to keep back the hoped-for harvest of social virtues, were fast yielding to the united efforts of good sense, on the part of the magistrates, and pious zeal, under the conduct of moderation and judgment, on that of the preachers. Constance and Geneva now declared themselves preparing to pursue the same track. In both these influential cities the mass was no longer performed, and the simple teaching of Scripture supplied the place of that vast machinery which had hitherto been so unprofitably put in motion for the awakening of slumbering souls.

Geneva was well fitted to act a conspicuous part in this great struggle. It had been long tried by political danger; and the hearts of the people were alive to every call which might bear them tidings affecting their independence. A striking contrast is presented between the jealousy with which they seem to have guarded themselves from outward oppression, and the patience which taught them to yield to the most grievous burdens of superstition. Such was their caution, in the one respect, that the bishops were appointed by the election of the communes; nor were they allowed to enter upon their office till they had taken certain oaths not to invade either the religious or civic rights of the people. When fairly installed, they shared the government of the city with the consuls and senate; and to them were referred for confirmation the decrees passed in the popular assembly. Their power, therefore, though carefully watched, was extensive; and, when added to that which properly belonged to their dignity, was amply sufficient to effect most of the purposes of ecclesiastical ambition. The vices of the clergy were too familiarly known to excite the feelings which would instantly arise, at the discovery of a thousandth part of such enormities, under a better system. On one occasion, indeed, popular indignation was roused against the discovered licentiousness of the bishop; and had not the whole force of the authorities been employed, signal vengeance might have been taken on the degraded functionary. But this was the momentary outbreak of

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an insulted community; and the abuses which had fostered the vice thus exposed to its resentment, continued as firmly rooted as ever in the soil which had so long supported them. The close union which existed between this city and Friburg contributed still further to keep it in subjection to the Church of Rome. Whoever, therefore, had felt inclined to speculate on the probability of its joining the reformers, would certainly at the time have estimated the chances as fewer than in the case of almost any other city or canton in the country. But, happily for the people, a frequent intercourse with Bern served gradually to counteract the influence which, while it remained in full vigour, seemed to set at defiance every agent of improvement. The first expressions of changed opinion on the part of the Bernese produced only mingled surprise and suspicion. They were regarded as heretics,—as basely deserting the altars of their forefathers; and the hatred which would properly attend the heartless betrayer of his home and his religion, seemed to most the fitting meed of those who began to broach a system apparently so bold and novel. This was the impression commonly left by the first teachings of reform on the unprepared mind. Where little opportunity for inquiry existed, the feelings thus inspired usually increased in strength in proportion as the danger dreaded was reported to gather ground. Hence the bitterness with which the Reformation continued to be viewed by thousands who had no interests to defend, no dignity, no personal prejudices even to uphold, when they stood forward as willing to sacrifice every hope of freedom to the support of the Roman Church. A small portion only of information might be required to disabuse their minds. The slightest opening in the heart to a brotherly and unprejudiced statement might be all that was necessary to change the whole current of opinion; but this was, in many cases, as difficult to secure, as in others it would be to clear away the obscurities of the most abstruse and mystical of doctrines. It ought not, therefore, to create surprise if we find that a people who, after much instruction, saw the infinite value of

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the gospel freely preached, allowed themselves at first to be carried away by the prejudices which had for many years ruled their spirits with undisputed sway.

Geneva formed for some time a broad and open stage on which the representatives of Bern and Friburg might try the force of their respective powers. The very circumstance that such a contest was to be carried on within their hearing, was of vast importance to a people who needed to be instructed in the elements of truth, and in the reasons whereby it was to be supported. It did not require much time, or the exercise of any subtle policy, to convince the more reflective portion of the people that the subject was worthy of attention. But there are some questions, the chief difficulty attending which exists in approaching them. When once fairly exposed to view, common sense and integrity are sufficient for their solution, while to place them within the range of ordinary powers demands the effort of profound ability, or most extensive learning. In the midst of the doubts which agitated the minds of the Genevese, they sought the advice of Francis Bonnivard, prior of St. Victor's, a man highly esteemed among them for his venerable character and experience. From him they received a lesson of equal zeal and caution. He advised them to consider well in what manner the existing abuses might be amended with least danger to the Church itself. He reminded them also, that while the Church and the priesthood needed reformation, the lives of those who were anxious for these salutary changes ought no less to be made the subject of careful inquisition: that while the clergy were guilty of many crimes, the people might be convicted of sharing their enormities; and that those who were unreformed themselves would do little good to the cause of reform by standing forth as its champions. By these, and other observations of a similar nature, he wisely warned his fellow-citizens against hoping that any change, attempted merely in the love of agitation, could be productive of profit. But the caution with which he spoke was not sufficient to counterbalance the prejudice created by his respect for the reformers of

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Bern. Anathemas were posted on the walls of the city, denouncing the people and their advisers. A contest was thus rendered inevitable. Francis Bonnivard proclaimed aloud, that if any sin had been committed, the curses, not of men, but of God, were to be dreaded; and that if nothing had been done contrary to truth and justice, such anathemas were utterly vain, and would soon be dissolved by Pope Haller:* that it ought to be known that conscience recognized no tribunal but that of God; that neither the Pope nor the devil could hurt any but those who served them; and that their thunderbolts were terrible in sound only, not in force.

But while these bold sentiments of the prior of St. Victor's were not unproductive of good, the power of the bishop and clergy remained too firmly settled to admit of any present change. They were enabled, by their vast resources and numerous connexions, to exercise a sway over the majority of the people, which set inquiry at defiance. Their influence, moreover, was at this time favourable to the interests of the Duke of Savoy. That prince regarded with no slight uneasiness every appearance of change. Of this the citizens were not allowed to remain in ignorance; and it required a far higher degree of religious feeling than that which as yet animated their hearts, to render them willing to run the danger of encountering his wrath. The canton of Friburg, also, was too powerful to be despised; and its zeal for the old religion burnt with such fury, that it was plain to all, that the moment Geneva declared for reform, it must encounter the resolute hostility of this formidable opponent. A considerable period, therefore, had to pass away before the preaching of the gospel was to be heard in Geneva.† But, as in other places

* A favourite allusion to Haller's popular authority.

† The slow progress of reform at Geneva has been attributed both to the small number of evangelical preachers there, and to the constant anxiety created by the threatened or actual hostilities of the Duke of Savoy. The Bernese were the most energetic among those who spurred them to resistance. They said to their deputies one day, "Ought you not to prefer being free, than to live thus in servitude, and in a servitude which costs you so dear and makes you slaves of a master, *qui étoit au delà des Monts?*"—Ruchat., t. III., liv. vii., p. 223.

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where the strong hand of authority, or the suggestions of expediency, prevented the general revival of evangelical religion, the seed scattered here and there failed not to take root, and though it produced not a hundred fold, yet that which sprung up afforded a promise of the future harvest, and was sufficient to encourage the anxious minds of those, whose faith and love were cheered continually by the sister grace of hope.

The cantons of Glaris, St. Gall, the district of Togenburg, and other portions of the country, manifested about this time an increasing fervour in the cause of reform. Basil, also, in the year 1529, completed, by one great and final struggle, the victory for which many of its most eminent citizens had long been striving. The people had beheld, with mingled disgust and fear, the contentions of those who seemed to have nothing so much at heart as the preservation of the old system in all its baseness and deformity.* Some members of the council persisted in defending the most obnoxious of the priests; and, notwithstanding the agreement which had been made, that neither party should deal in invectives, the most abusive language was daily poured forth, from the pulpits of the Roman Catholic preachers, on the advocates of reform. A proposal that the doctrine of the mass should be fairly and soberly discussed between the two parties was so far from silencing the voice of clamour, that it only increased the excitement. At length, several of the most influential of the citizens united in an appeal to the senate, and that body was called upon to banish from its councils such of its members as were accused of fomenting the present disturbances. This demand obtained no attention, nor does it appear to have been very well calculated to place the reformers in a more favourable position. Most men of temperate feelings could hardly fail to take alarm at the proposal of a measure so startling to our ordinary notions of justice. The members of the

* The number of those desiring reform was far greater than that of those who still adhered to the Roman Church. It is estimated at 2,500 to 600. Ruchat., t. III., liv. vi., p. 348.

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council who chose to support the Roman Catholic teachers had certainly as good a right to exercise their zeal as those engaged on the side of reform. If in their efforts to uphold a declining cause they stepped beyond the line of prudence, they merited the same reproof as others who in those days of strife had forgotten the great rule of truth and charity. But that as magistrates they were to be degraded because they did not agree with the party proposing reform, and to be expelled from the position which gave weight to their opinions, because those opinions were persevered in contrary to the wish of opponents, was surely a strange demand, and one as little agreeable as could be to the notion that, with the establishment of the Reformation, every man would be at liberty to obey the solemn dictates of a Christian conscience.

A still more suspicious course of proceeding appears to have been adopted, when it was found that the senate could not be persuaded to expel a portion of its members, because they still adhered to the doctrine of the mass. Most of the citizens assembled at the call of their leaders, and, though not armed, took up their position, in great force, in the strongest parts of the city. While presenting this formidable appearance, they despatched a message to the senate, again insisting on their former demand.* They were met by a firm refusal as to the expulsion of the unpopular counsellors; but concession was so far made, that these obnoxious magistrates were denied for the future the right of taking part in any discussion which should regard the affairs of religion. This, however, did not satisfy the people. It was still insisted that peace could not be restored while the hated senators were allowed to retain their seats; and their removal, therefore, was required not less on general than on religious grounds. To render this declaration the more worthy of attention, the multitude now took arms, and posting different parties at the gates, and along the fortifications of the city, threatened the magistrates with all the horrors of a petty civil war. In this state of things they could do nothing

* Sleidan, t. I., liv. vi., p. 257.

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but submit. The senators on whom the popular party had fixed its indignation were expelled; the mass was abolished; and the images were torn from the walls of the churches. Most of the signs of a revolution, on a small scale, were exhibited in this triumph of the reformers. Not satisfied with clearing the churches of images, they gave them to the poor to use as fire-wood. By these, and other means of a similar kind, the defeated party saw itself driven from the hope of toleration; and, insulted in their feelings and belief, the more conscientious of its members had ample right to complain.

Erasmus beheld these proceedings with sorrow; and though he has been regarded as a somewhat prejudiced witness, his account of the occurrence is not very different, perhaps, from that which would have been given by any man of temperate mind, and feelings strictly just. The arming of the people; the havoc which raged, night and day, through the city; the burning of the images, gathered together in huge heaps by the multitude, form, as delineated in his epistle, a melancholy scene in the event, which he has not scrupled to denominate a tragedy, and to compare to the last awful change that shall happen to the human race. He acknowledges, however, that notwithstanding the dread which the tumult inspired, no one suffered any personal injury, nor had reason to fear any, except the consul, who found it necessary to make his escape during the night. The destruction of images was evidently complete: not a vestige, he says, was left of either statues or paintings. What could not be burnt was trodden under foot, and crumbled to dust.

An account of this event has also been left us in the letters of Œcolampadius. Erasmus attributes to the interference of that eminent man, the limit which was at length put to the rising spirit of popular persecution. He may therefore be considered as one of the witnesses most to be depended upon, where all were exposed to the influence of a stormy excitement, and had to defend this or that side, as a matter of near and personal concern. His description of the occurrence

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accords with that of Erasmus; but it is given in a more apologetic tone. The people are spoken of as justly enraged at the contempt with which they were treated by the magistrates, and as being driven into opposition, not on account of the gospel only, but for the sake of their civil rights. "In the midst of the tumult," he says, "and while the senate was endeavouring to quiet the people, they exclaimed triumphantly, 'See! that which you have been deliberating on for three years, we shall accomplish in one hour;' which," he adds, "so terrified the magistrates, that they determined to yield to the necessity of their position." "Our enemies," he then remarks, "will no doubt heap many accusations on our heads, but they will prove to be false. Not the smallest sum was stolen: the only violence perpetrated was that which, the Lord suffering it, took place in the churches. On Ash Wednesday, when the idols were about to be distributed to the poor, some, more eager than the rest, rushed forward, and many were wounded in the struggle. As this was the case, the images were gathered together in a heap, and nine piles being fired, they were at once consumed,—a sad spectacle this for the superstitious. They might have wept tears of blood. The mass indeed expired of very grief." Having spoken of the agreement entered into by the contending parties, he says, "You see, my brother, how things at present stand; yet I cannot myself tell where we are to look for quiet. If I be not deceived, more care and labour than ever must yet attend us. Our adversaries represent me as the author of this affair."

These allusions to the events which had lately occurred, are found in the letters of Œcolampadius to his friend Capito. In his correspondence with Grynæus, whom he wished to bring to Basil he speaks in a tone of greater confidence. "Whatsoever others may think," he says, "I, at least, am sure that the things which have taken place could not have happened without the direction of our heavenly Father. For so does He determine human affairs by His own secret and wonderful counsels, that whilst our cares are fruitless and our plans unavailing, He by His wisdom alone makes that

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which is impossible possible, and paves a way for His providence over the pride and temerity of His enemies. To the scandal of Christians, the Churches were long divided by strife; now Christ is preached with one consent. The Churches within our walls were rent by schism; now they are happily united: idols were worshipped; now, with their services, they are swallowed up in the dust and caverns of the earth, fleeing, as it were, from the coming of the Lord. Our literary institution was neglected; now we meditate, not simply its restoration, but the ennobling of it, seeking, with piety, to establish and support the best interests of learning. For this reason we are earnestly engaged in calling to our aid as many accomplished and erudite scholars as we can maintain; nor do we intend to spare expense in this matter, but offer stipends worthy of their ability and labour." In enumerating the advantages which Basil now offered, he says, "Here you will have a salubrious climate, a pleasant town, a people intent on seeking the peace of Christ, studious of simplicity; the convenience of printers ready at your call; and, still further, the celebrity of the place."

The flourishing prospects of the reformed Church, as described in this letter, were founded on the judicious arrangements which its ministers were anxious to adopt for the restoration of sober discipline, as essentially necessary to the continued administration of evangelical knowledge. They were not ignorant of the danger which must attend a state of change, unless the most prudent measures were employed; and they saw clearly, that none could be adopted with so good a prospect of success as those which consisted in appointing men of known learning, probity, and piety, to superintend the great seminaries of public education. Grynæus was well adapted to undertake the situation proposed to him. His modesty and gentleness were equal to his erudition; and it was these qualities which the present hazardous and experimental condition of the Church so greatly required. "I am anxious," he said, "and willing to take up my abode with you; but there is this to oppose my wish. My studies must be begun afresh; the ex-

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pectation formed respecting the new school is very high; and this, together with the envy of those who have been driven from the city, or dislike your counsels, will all rest on me. The dissensions which exist among the Swiss themselves make the undertaking perilous. These things, I know, ought to be borne with that constancy of mind which you exhibit, and so too would I bear them, were there in me a similar degree of resolution: but I daily find my powers less than my friends believe, and than I had myself hoped they were."

Œcolampadius answered the objections which Grynæus had modestly started respecting his too imperfect knowledge of Greek, and then stated the real position in which the reformers now stood. "The dissensions which at present exist," he said, "have nothing in them which ought to alarm us. Most of the principal cities are closely united in the defence of the gospel. Those which resist are few, and of inferior rank; and even they oppose us not by the will of the people, but by the tyranny of an oligarchy,—a resistance which, with God's help, we shall speedily overcome." In this hopeful condition of affairs, two important steps were taken towards placing the Churches of Switzerland in a state of permanent independence. While the Roman Catholic clergy were, on all sides, leaving their benefices, either by a voluntary exile, or from a resolution not to change the customs of their faith, the protestant ministers, aided by the senate, were busily employed in selecting persons properly qualified to undertake the vacant charge. When this was effected, it seemed expedient to institute a new and regular system for the services of the Church. This was drawn up by Œcolampadius, and approved by the senate. In writing to a friend on the subject, he says, "We are considered by some to have been too lenient in the article on excommunication: but we have desired to escape the danger of converting discipline, by too much severity, into tyranny; or, on the other side, of altogether giving up the keys of the Church." In respect to the mode of administering the Lord's Supper,

* Gerdes Monument. Antiq. t. II., n. xxvii., p. 144.

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he says, in a letter to one of the clergy of Schaffhausen, "We would have you follow our example, in altogether rejecting the old popish practices, which only nourish superstition and impiety, and in adopting our customs; but not so hastily as to send away your hearers unaffected with the solemnity, or so curiously, as to render it perilous to their consciences. I should be glad indeed if we could have but one method, and the same ceremonies, in all our churches; but this, at present, we must not attempt, nor would it be useful, if possible; for some, I fear, would soon prostitute Christian liberty, and lead the way to a new papacy. Let us each, then, consider in what way we may best improve our people, that we may not leave them worse than we found them."

About this time also, Œcolampadius was employed, it is said, in preparing the general confession of faith, which was presented at Augsburg, but not printed till after his death, when it made its appearance under the auspices of Myconius. Basil, it is evident, owed much to these exertions. The popular tumults which put an end to the slower processes of reform had driven, not only the hostile clergy and senators from the town, but others, on whose character and influence much of its prosperity had for a long time depended. Erasmus himself was among those who considered that it no longer deserved the reputation which had led him to seek it as the home of scholars and philosophers. It is rarely, indeed, that the agitations attending any sudden change subside sufficiently soon to give a chance to such men of recovering their former repose. In ordinary circumstances a grievous loss, therefore, would have been incurred by the people of Basil. But the place of mere scholars is at any time richly supplied when the position they occupied is taken by men who, to a comparatively moderate portion of erudition, add the inestimable qualities of an earnest and loving zeal for the instruction of the poor and ignorant. The city of Basil now promised to become, not the city of the Muses only, but the nurse of souls. Every advance in knowledge was to be made along the path of life, and the powers and machinery of learning were to be set in

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action for the better fortifying of the citadel against the common enemy of holiness.

A subsidiary union had already been entered into between Bern and Zurich. This was rendered necessary by the threats busily circulated every day among the catholic cantons. St. Gall, Basil, and the other protestant districts successively joined this confederacy; and it was strengthened in the year 1529 by the important addition of the city of Strasburg. Much caution, however, was required in this proceeding; and it was studiously declared that no violation was hereby intended of the proper federative union between all the cantons; but that the present alliance had reference only to the defence of religious liberty, and the preservation of the gospel. In the synods held about the same time, further progress was made towards defining the views and purposes of the reformed Church. The effort on the part of the Roman Catholic cantons to secure the interference of Ferdinand, threatened many evil consequences; but these were prevented by the prudence of the protestant allies; and the conference at Marpurg afforded, for the time, a hope that the temporary reconciliation of the two more declared opponents, might be followed by a better agreement between the several divisions of the great body of reformers.

The meeting here alluded to was attended by the most celebrated of the Swiss and German divines. Zuingle and Œcolampadius appeared as the representatives of the former, and Luther, Melancthon, and Justus Jonas headed the latter.* As the main cause of dispute was the difference of their opinions on the Lord's Supper, the conference during the brief period of its continuance was almost entirely employed in discussing the arguments by which the two parties had arrived at such various conclusions. Luther and Zuingle bore the burden of the debate; and these two great men found themselves engaged in disputing, when it would have

* Luther received Œcolampadius with marked respect, but Bucer he treated jestingly, saying, with a laugh, "Tu es nequam et nebulo." In the dispute Luther was, by direction of the prince, pitted against Œcolampadius, and Melancthon against Zuingle.—Sculteti, Annal. Decas ii., p. 198.

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been productive of the noblest consequences to the cause of reform, could they have united their forces in the firm bonds of amity against their common enemy. This was fully understood by the Landgrave of Hesse, at whose wish the meeting had taken place. It was also as clearly seen that, in proportion as the disputants grew heated in the contest, the hope of union became less likely to be realized. Almost luckily for the Landgrave, in the perplexity which he began to feel, a contagious disorder manifested itself at Marpurg, and he was thus furnished with a colourable pretext for dissolving the assembly.* That either party acted unfairly in this matter cannot be supposed without giving up the defence of their moral character. The real cause of that hopelessness with which the Landgrave watched their proceedings was the simple conviction, so dear to each, that truth had been discovered, and that to modify an opinion thus established would be an offence against God. There is a state of mind and feeling which appears to lie beyond the reach of human argument. Whether it be the assurance of reason, or of pride and prejudice, it has this important characteristic, that it excites in most men a large share of self-interest in its defence; and, in nobler minds, becomes the *eidolon*, the supposed visible and palpable truth which the heart is bound to worship, and to which it ought to sacrifice whatever may claim a share in its homage or affections. The controversy, in the present case, was productive of much harm to the immediate interests of the protestant cause. It is natural for its friends to lament that such should have been the result, and to wish that men

* Sleidan, t. I., liv. vi., p. 267. The editor of Sleidan suggests this as the most probable reason for the Landgrave's proceeding; and there is little doubt he was right. "Je serois fort tenté de croire, que ceci ne fut que le prétente, dont se servit le Landgrave pour mettre fin à la conférence de Marpurg; et que la veritable raison qui l'y détermina fut, que ne voyant aucune apparence de parvenir à un accommodement entre les Lutheriens et les Zuingliens, sur l'article de la Cene du Seigneur, il crut qu'il valoit mieux renvoyer ces theologiens, que de scandaliser le monde par leurs divisions et leur opiniâtreté. Il faut avouër neanmoins que les autres historiens s'expriment sur ceci comme Sleidan." Luther himself looked forward to the meeting as affording no prospect of a union. Thus, in a letter to the Landgrave, dated June 23, he says, "The Zuinglians will not abjure their errors, and it is not possible for me to give up my own opinion."

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engaged in so holy an undertaking as the restoration of the gospel, could have been persuaded to give up something for the advantage of peace and union. But it may be questioned whether, even by these things, the progress of truth was not far better secured than it would have been without such a stimulant to hardy inquiry. Truth is often embraced and defended by the very spirit of error, for there are circumstances which may render it more useful, partially and temporally, to the cause of folly and wickedness than that which is in itself so weak, and liable to suspicion. Error, on the other hand, may be fostered, but with so little notion of its real nature, and with so thoroughly an honest feeling of sincerity, that it may lose its power over every other principle, but that which urges us into the vigorous defence of what we believe to be right. In this strife, many powers which had otherwise lien dormant are called into exercise; and the process of correction, if begun at all, must leave the mind in a state of far greater vigour than that which it would have enjoyed had it possessed truth, but without loving it. The reformers, in their dissensions, proved two important points. In the first place, it was evident that they did not form a cabal whose only object it was to overthrow the Roman Church. Had this been the case, they would not have contended so stoutly for particular points of doctrine among themselves. In the next, they evinced, by their uncompromising firmness, that they were not likely to be carried about by every wind of doctrine, and thereby expose the Church to a succession of revolutions as ruinous to piety as its former state of darkness and apathy.

While events were thus in progress, aiding the cause of the Reformation, or bringing into clearer display the wishes of its supporters, that small portion of the Christian Church, which had so long before sought the light of the gospel, the little community of the Piedmontese valleys, became a deeply-interested spectator of the struggle. The conversion of so many of the Swiss cantons inspired their poor neighbours with the hope of finding sympathy and protection. To these they

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had been utter strangers during the undisputed supremacy of Rome. Little prepared to dispute for their rights, either by arms or argument, they owed their knowledge of the truth to the benign influences which so often, in the most disadvantageous circumstances, keep the minds of men attached to the cause of holiness. But they had been too frequently exposed to the fierce assaults of their powerful neighbours not to render them desirous of finding allies who might, in some degree, lessen the dangers of their situation. The feelings of these excellent but unfortunate people are strikingly exhibited in their address to Œcolampadius.* Acknowledging their weakness and want of erudition, they claimed from their more favoured brethren the instruction which might give greater stability to their community. Their ministers, it is confessed, were altogether void of literature, being usually of the poorer class of peasants, and taken from the labours of the field. The preparation of the candidates for orders consisted in what teaching and discipline could be pursued during the two or three months of winter, when the valleys were covered with snow, and they were obliged to cease from their ordinary occupations. This temporary instruction was pursued for three or four successive years, and in the course of this time they were expected to commit to memory the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. John, and the greater part of the Epistles. They were then allowed to begin the exercise of their office; and were first appointed to preach among the poor women, who seem to have formed a species of sisterhood, depending for its support on the charity of the community. In this duty they continued for one or two years, still supporting themselves by the hard labours of their original rustic calling. At length they were admitted to the presbytery by solemn imposition of hands; and then went forth, two by two, to preach in the places to which they were directed by the general assembly. This body met every year, and at its meetings the several ministers received their

* Gerdes, t. II. Monument. Antiq. Scultetus, Decas, ii., p. 294. Ruchat., t. III., liv. vii., p. 252.

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appointments; none but the old and infirm being allowed to continue stationary more than two or three years. As they were expected to remain unmarried,* the simplest supply of their wants was considered sufficient remuneration for any toil which they might have to undergo. The money collected from the people was placed to the account of a fund, part of which was expended in furnishing necessaries to those about to commence a journey, and the other part in assisting the poor. Prayer was the great dependence of these humble teachers of the gospel, and they seized every occasion, even the most common circumstances of daily life, to enter into communion with God.

Having thus spoken of their ministers, they give, in the next place, an account of their faith, which, in many important features, closely agreed with that of the reformed Churches. They acknowledged no mediator between God and man but Jesus Christ; no purgatory; no rites or observances invented by man, as efficacious for the salvation of souls. On the subject of sacraments they say, "We hear that we have fallen into error on this point, believing more than two sacraments;" but their definition is that of the evangelical teachers, "The visible form of an invisible grace." Their statement of the law of charity is curiously conjoined with the articles of their belief, and savours somewhat more of the refinement of the schools than of the simplicity of their other views. "With regard to charity," it is said, "we ordain that God is to be loved above all things, even our own souls: that next to Him, we love our souls above all things; that then, we love the soul of our neighbour more than our own bodies; that, after this, we love our own body more than that of our neighbour; and, lastly, that we love the body of our neighbour more than any of our possessions." Obstacles to the success of their ministrations were sometimes created by the efforts of the Roman clergy. These consisted in the means employed to force the people into the worship of saints, or partaking of the mass, with its various superstitious

* Inter nos nemo ducit uxorem: tamen, ut verum fatear, tecum enim cum multâ fiduciâ omnia loquor, non semper castè nobiscum agitur.

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accompaniments. All that the ministers could do in this case was to instruct their flocks with increased diligence; to explain more clearly the real nature and meaning of the Lord's Supper, and the spiritual doctrine of redemption by Christ. Every effort was made to preserve the people in a virtuous and simple mode of living. To this end, they were dissuaded from indulging in any of those amusements or games which seemed calculated to corrupt their manners. Even their mode of dressing was attended to, and the introduction of various colours or novel fashions was reprehended as inconsistent with their profession of holiness.

The humble habitations of the peasants were scattered over a wide extent of rocky wilderness. This increased the difficulties of those who were most anxious to preserve them from the dangers of irreligion, or the incursions of the catholic priests. It was rarely, however, that they had cause to lament any act of unfaithfulness. The people continued to pursue the path which had been trodden by their forefathers; and though many of their opinions were evidently ill-defined, and the customs of their little church presented some inconsistencies, they appear to have enjoyed far more real light than the most favoured of the neighbouring states. When the Reformation in Switzerland brought them intelligence that the gospel was again about to be made the foundation of the Christian's creed, they were naturally led to inquire whether their own views accorded with those advocated by the authors of so momentous a change. The pleasing discovery that in several material points this was the case, led them to a second inquiry of still greater practical importance—whether, that is, they might not greatly improve their discipline, and other arrangements connected with the ministration of their faith. Acknowledging their doubts and ignorance on many things of this kind, they asked whether there ought to be various degrees and ranks among the clergy, as of bishops, priests and deacons. "Such," they say, "seem to have been ordered by the Apostle Paul in his Epistles to Timothy and Titus. Christ also," it is added, "appears to have set Peter over the other Apos-

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ties, and there were those among them called 'pillars;' but we have no variety of ranks." These remarks were followed by questions respecting the temporal power of magistrates; the force of laws ordained by men; and the manner in which false brethren might or ought to be punished. This inquiry was of a very different nature to what it is in the more prosperous churches, where the dignity of the Church itself, or the spiritual good of its people, are the only matters of consideration. Here it proceeded on the grave declaration that every now and then betrayers would arise among them, and conveying false accusations to their prejudiced and powerful foes, would expose their whole community to the dangers of a bloody persecution. As this might be the case again, it was asked if it would be lawful for the sufferers to protect themselves by the condign punishment of the traitors. Sometimes, again, they suffered much by the unjust detention of their goods, and it was doubted whether the instructions of St. Paul had not rendered it unlawful for them to seek restitution through an appeal to unfaithful judges. The lawfulness of oaths, and of trading for the sake of gain, formed another subject of inquiry; and it was then asked, whether the doctrine of original sin ought to be adopted; whether it was right to weep for the dead; whether little children, in every nation, are saved by God's grace, and the merits of Christ's death; and within what degrees marriage was lawful, and whether women might be admitted to vows of perpetual virginity.

But the questions put with most earnestness, and with an acknowledged solicitude, were those which concerned the doctrines of free-will and predestination. This anxiety had been excited by the report of Luther's opinions on these subjects. "We believe," it is said, "that a certain degree of natural strength is bestowed by God on all; on some more, on others less; as we see, by experience, that one man differs from another, and as we are taught by the parable of the talents, and the varieties which exist in plants, minerals, and all other substances, to which God has given particular virtues, according to the objects for which they are intended.

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Thus, we believe that men are rendered capable of performing somewhat by their natural strength, God exciting and stimulating it to action, as He says, 'I stand at the door, and knock.' Otherwise, we cannot see how, as Erasmus contends, so many affirmative and negative precepts can possibly be understood."

From this it appears, that the disputes which had agitated the minds of the profoundest scholars of the day, were watched with curiosity, even in the obscure retreats of these simple and almost unlettered people. The doctrine of predestination was, in a similar manner, made the subject of anxious inquiry. "We believe," they say, "that the Omnipotent knew from eternity, before the creation of the heaven and the earth, how many would be saved, and how many would be reprobate: that he made all men for eternal life, and that the reprobate became so by their own fault, that is, because they would not obey and keep His commandments. But, if all things happen by necessity, as Luther says, and those who are predestinated to life cannot become reprobate, nor, on the other hand, the reprobate become happy, because the divine predestination is not to be frustrated, wherefore are there so many scriptures, and preachers, and physicians? For nothing, less or more, can be effected hereby, since all things happen by necessity."

Having further asked for instruction respecting ceremonies, and the rules of discipline, the number of the canonical books of Scripture, and in what way the people might be most profitably instructed, the writer of this interesting memorial concludes his address with the most humble and affectionate declaration, that nothing was more desired than the help of the Spirit of God, and such advice as might lead them to the knowledge and practice of the truth. "We agree with you in all things," he says, "and from the time of the Apostles have ever held the same faith as you, in this only differing, that by our own fault, and by the dulness of our understanding, we have never so well as you comprehended the Scriptures. Therefore to you have we come to be directed, informed, edified and taught."

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Œcolampadius answered this appeal in the serious and affectionate spirit which commonly characterized his sentiments. We may gather from his reply what was the general state of opinion and feeling at this time among the Swiss reformers.* "God be praised," he says, "for the light which He has bestowed upon you, and that in ages when, through the power of Antichrist, darkness has covered almost the whole earth! We see that Christ is in you, and, therefore, love you as brethren. Would that it were in our power, by deeds as well as words, to prove our affection! But what, however difficult, should we not be prepared to do? We will use our fraternal zeal, and pray you to regard that which we do as inspired, not by proud superciliousness, but by friendly sympathy. The Father of our Lord Jesus Christ hath indeed blessed you with spiritual benediction, and endowed you with an excellent knowledge of the truth beyond many. But if you cease not to be grateful, he is able to do still more for you, to enrich you with greater treasures, and to render you perfect, bringing you unto the stature of the fulness of Christ. For as we approve many things in you, so also are there many which we should wish to see amended. You know that 'with the heart man believeth unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation,' and that those who deny Christ before men, will be denied by him when they appear before God. . . . But we hear that the dread of persecution has induced you to dissemble and conceal your faith, so that you communicate with disbelievers, and take part in their abominable masses, in which you are taught to blaspheme the death and passion of Jesus Christ. . . . Whilst we say 'Amen' to their prayers, do we not deny Christ? And would it not be better to undergo any kind of death, to bear any species of torment, nay, to enter even the deep abyss of hell, rather than against our conscience share in blasphemies like these? I know your infirmity; but it behoves you to be stronger, knowing that you have been redeemed by the blood of Christ. More is He to be dreaded who is able to cast both body and soul

* Gerdesii, t. II. Monument. Antiq. Scultetus. Dec. ii., p. 306.

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into hell. Why are we so solicitous about our life? Is it more precious than Christ? Shall we be contented with the enjoyments of the present state, instead of hastening to the possession of eternal glory? Crowns are set before us, shall we turn our faces from them? Who would believe our faith true, if it failed in persecution? We pray, then, that the Lord may increase your faith, for we would rather die than be overcome by temptations like this."

Having added a fervent exhortation to constancy and courage in the time of trial, this faithful minister of Christ proceeds to speak of those articles of belief, in which the people he was addressing agreed with his own evangelical branch of the true catholic Church. He then cautions them against superstition on the one hand, and licentiousness on the other. "Baptized by Papists," he says, "we are not rebaptized as the Anabaptists; far be it from us." While, again, human inventions in the sacred mysteries of religion are spoken of with just horror and indignation, obedience to magistrates, and attention to the ordinary means whereby civilized society is protected from invasion, are insisted upon as forming an important part of Christian duty. Respecting what had been related of the appointment of ministers, he says: "Begging you to let us advise you on this subject, your ministers seem to be somewhat more employed in manual labour than is good, and in giving those hours to business which they ought rather to expend in study. True, it is holy to labour with the hands, but it is a still holier thing to minister in the word. The Apostles were unwilling to serve tables, lest they might fail in teaching the Gospel. Paul commanded Titus to give himself to reading. And, indeed, we must not tempt God, as if He would teach us as He did the Apostles, by the Holy Spirit, and make us independent of study. We exhort not indeed to the pursuit of vain philosophy, or mere worldly discipline; but there will be enough of exertion required if they attend only to the study of the Scriptures."

Another point in the account which had been given of the Vaudois ministers demanded similar criticism. It

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did not appear to the Swiss reformer that there was apostolic authority, or the argument of expediency, to justify the practice of setting new ministers over the various districts every three years. "There is," said he, "a difference between apostles and pastors. Apostles are sent, but bishops and pastors ought to remain with their flocks. Thus it was that the Apostles constituted elders in every city; although for apostles visitors might most usefully be also appointed." The prohibition of marriage is spoken of with the censure which might be expected, and it is remarked that it is not marriage which can destroy the priesthood, but sloth, the love of the belly, and the fear of the cross. As little approbation is expressed respecting the existence of associations in which women consigned themselves to a single life by solemn vows and promises.

The inquiries which had been made concerning the best mode of teaching the people, are answered by the simple injunction to do every thing with patience and humility, to avoid apocryphal and curious questions, which only minister strife, and to follow one object at all times, and under all circumstances, the glorifying, that is, of Jesus Christ, and the cultivation of an innocent and holy life. A list of the canonical books of Scripture is given, but it is evident that Œcolampadius shared with Luther in some of the erroneous doubts which entered into the early disquisitions of that great commentator.* But passing from this part of the subject to the consideration of the doctrine of free-will and election, he says, "We embrace with the greatest readiness that system which best magnifies the grace of Christ. The notion of free-will we approve not of, in so far as it is repugnant to the doctrine of grace; yet do we not, therefore, bring in the necessity of sinning; for they who sin, sin willingly, and of their own accord. Original sin has its own law. Neither, moreover, is our strength the greater because so many precepts are given, but great is the force of the Holy Spirit, through whom we work the will of God; and great is our incapacity through which we are accounted unworthy. There is indeed a

* Gerdes., t. II., p. 416.

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fatality with God, since what seems mutable to us is with Him unchangeable. But it does not behove you to pry into the secret things of the Lord, but to attend to His Word, and to believe in that by which we shall be saved. We cannot deny predestination. It is impossible that we should be deceived on this point. It is most certain. But why? Is God in anywise unjust? Is God not true? Let us humble ourselves beneath His majesty, for He bows down the necks of the proud, but has mercy on those of a contrite heart, and who seek help from Him alone, not resting on an arm of flesh, but on His will, that He may be glorified in all things. And what have we to do with the disputes of Luther and Erasmus? Our perdition is from ourselves. Salvation is of the Lord, and of Him only. Therefore, my brothers, improve the talent which you have received; hasten on, and look not back. Set forth the glory of God by just, and sober, and pious lives. Let not the body overcome, to its own perdition, but let it be conquered for its own glory; for if we lose it for Christ's sake, we shall find it again at the resurrection of the just."*

While Œcolampadius was thus occupied, the pious and laborious Farel proved, by his success, that he had done well in leaving Basil, and seeking another field of labour. After having preached effectually in parts of the territory belonging to Bern, he took up his station at Neufchatel. Here he was listened to with so much attention and interest, that, in a short time, the town, with its neighbouring district, rejoicingly threw off the

* It is said that several of the ministers who visited Switzerland for the purpose of conferring with the reformers, were waylaid on their return, and, being seized by the emissaries of Rome, were thrown into prison, and some of them put to death. Scultetus, l. c., p. 315; Ruchat., l. c., p. 270. The former writer states, that when the Vaudois received the information brought to them by such of the ministers as reached home, they were filled with such a desire to reform their church, that they immediately created a council, with the view of carrying their wishes into effect. This further provoked their enemies, and the people were exposed to the most cruel persecution. A monk, called Joannes de Roma, was the leader on this occasion; and his mode of torturing was worthy of his fame. "Implebat ocreas adipe fervescente, quas tibiis Waldensium aptabat, quos scamno alligatos, et supinos interrogabat, eo modo, ut tibiæ eorum super exiguum ignem subjectum dependerent. Sed ista bellua paulò post horrendâ morte periit, in tanto fœtore, ut nec ipse eum ferre posset vivus, et nemo inveniretur, qui mortuum attingere et sepelire vellet." P. 316.

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yoke of superstition, and embraced the simple faith of the gospel. The same effects followed his preaching in other towns to which he journeyed, and both friends and foes bore testimony to the indomitable courage with which he executed his heavenly commission. No method was unemployed which gave the smallest chance of silencing his appeals to Scripture. While at one time efforts were made to deprive him of life, at another rude and violent clamours were excited to drown the sound of his voice. From the dangers which environed him he was preserved by the providence of God. The annoyance and hinderances to which he stood exposed, he overcame by his spiritual zeal and true manly energy. However fierce the tumult around him, he kept his place, and the louder impiety raged, the bolder and more awful became the tones of his voice and his fervent demonstrations of divine truth. His energy and perseverance were blessed with the happiest results. Many of those who were collected for no other purpose than that of silencing him by their uproar, gradually gave way to the force of his eloquence. Even the priests could not always keep themselves safe within their barriers of hate and prejudice, but, yielding to the vital power of truth, would allow their hearts to be softened and converted by the present blessing of the Spirit.

Some difference of opinion prevailed at this time among the reformers on points of discipline. Œcolampadius was foremost in the desire to establish a government for the Church which should at once set aside any pretensions to licentious liberty. To this peculiar wish for severer measures than seemed necessary to the reformers in other parts of the country, he was, no doubt, led by the circumstances under which the people of Basil had secured their independence. He considered, that, unless the clergy retained the power of excommunicating the vicious and disobedient, the Church would be in danger of sinking into a mere name, or, at least, of losing that sanctity and faithfulness which are its only real walls of separation from the world. But to those who had not experienced the apprehensions which are

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awakened at the view of popular excitement, or who had not witnessed the near approach which sudden reforms make to the overthrow of the most necessary safeguards of social life, the plans of Œcolampadius appeared tinctured with undue severity. While, therefore, his authority, and the reverence in which he was held, enabled him to make excommunication a part of church discipline at Basil, the proposal of such a system was at once rejected by Bern and Zurich. In these places it was regarded as little better than a new introduction to the former system of papal tyranny. From this the clergy shrunk with not less horror than the laity. They seem to have considered that authority conferred upon reformers is not better insured from corruption than it was in the hands of more ancient possessors. But they knew also that their ruin must inevitably be sealed with the return of old abuses, and that it was therefore far better to keep themselves from temptation, and be obliged to daily watchfulness and exertion for the defence of discipline, than set their minds at ease by any authoritative compendium which might, by any chance, degenerate at last into an instrument of corruption. Excommunication, moreover, could not, they argued, be properly carried into effect, unless ministers could be always obtained who would be superior to fears of every kind, and would regard nothing but the glory of God. Nor was it considered that this alone would be sufficient to secure the objects aimed at by such an institution: an obedient people is not less necessary to the efficiency of serious and severe discipline, than conscientious rulers. Excommunication, however considered, depends in a peculiar manner on the feelings of the multitude, and their willingness to acknowledge its propriety. That can scarcely be an expulsion from a particular communion which consists in only an outward separation, while the hearts, the wishes and opinions of the people, are all with the party suffering. The system may be carried on for a time, and some individual hardship inflicted; but the spirit of opposition will at length grow too strong for its continuance, and the disobedience of the few will be justified by the rebellion of the whole.

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CHAP. II.

CONFLICT BETWEEN THE CATHOLIC AND REFORMED CANTONS. DEATH OF ZUINGLE. PROGRESS OF AFFAIRS TO THE DIET OF AUGSBURG.

THE Reformation in Switzerland had now advanced sufficiently far to assure its friends that no effort on the part of its enemies could destroy their work. A. D. 1531. A pledge was given by the very character of the people that it would not be lost for want of perseverance. To those who could not understand its worth, as the great means of liberating men's souls from bondage, it notwithstanding presented itself in colours sufficiently attractive. Its cause was even to them the cause of freedom; and the least degree of penetration taught them that, were it once established, their country would be better than ever protected against the arm of oppression. The feelings which range themselves under the banner of liberty of conscience are, with most men, but the same as those which would lead them to claim independence in any other respect. Opposed, they urge them to employ the same means to overcome the enemy as in other cases; and when long and securely indulged, they give the same force and vigour to the character which are observed to be the general fruits of freedom. When the reformed cantons, therefore, found that they were likely to be assailed by those who still adhered to the Church of Rome, they beheld them in the light of enemies, against whom it was their duty to guard themselves with equal caution and determination. Mutual accusations were soon changed into fiery threats; and in a short time the quarrel was entirely in the hands of the people.* As in most cases of this kind, there can be little doubt but that injustice showed itself on both

* Ruch., t. III., liv. viii., p. 384.

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sides by turns. Zurich, however, took the lead in an open declaration of hostility. Its inhabitants were forbidden to hold any intercourse with the catholic districts, or to supply them with provisions. This decree was justified by the refusal of five cantons to accept the proposals of the King of France, and those which had consented to act as mediators. It had been suggested that the five cantons ought to be contented with full liberty to continue in their old religious profession, without interdicting to their people the reading of the Scriptures, or endeavouring to work ill to those strangers who might come within their power. This formed the main article in the proposed pacification; but it was coldly received on the part of the Catholics; and Zurich, with Bern for its faithful ally, at once intimated that sufficient proof was now given of a hostile spirit, which could not be too soon resisted. Zuingle, anxious as he plainly was for the safety and honour of his canton, yet shrunk with apprehension from the prospect of war, and therefore used his influence both in and out of the pulpit to appease the rising storm. But it was now too late. The order which cut off the five cantons from the usual supply of provisions was confirmed; and no alternative was left them, but either to submit to the demands of Zurich, or open their way by force to the beleaguered markets.* As the latter proceeding was more conformable with the manners of the age and country, it was readily adopted; and before the people of Zurich had any expectation of being really driven to take arms, they received intelligence, that a considerable body of troops was on its way through their territory. Confusion and alarm appeared in every countenance at this announcement. But no time was to be lost, and such a force as could be immediately gathered was in-

* The conduct of Zurich ought, perhaps, to be viewed with suspicion. In the case of the abbey of St. Gal, an act of great injustice appears to have been perpetrated by that canton. The abbot, driven from his possession by Zurich and Glaris, had applied to the Emperor for protection, and was returning from Augsburg full of golden hopes. But his horse happened to stumble with him by the side of a rapid river, and rolling down headforemost, he was soon out of the reach of his attendants.—Ruchat. t. III., liv. viii., p. 309. The five cantons combined against Zurich and Bern were, Lucern, Uri, Schweitz, Underwald and Zug.

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stantly led forth. Zuingle himself joined the band, and that by order of the magistrates, who wished, it is said, to have him on the spot should any difficulty arise, great trust being put on all occasions in his strong and sagacious mind. That he went armed and mounted, may be accounted for by the practice of the times, and the duties which he was actually expected to perform. The struggle in which he was then engaged was one in every respect to be lamented. It sprung from bad and unholy feelings; from a want of those principles to which claim was laid as well by one side as the other. Victory could produce no good to the cause of religion, and defeat was sure to deprive it of some of its choicest advocates. A small body of troops had been sent to watch the movements of the enemy, and keep him in check, should he make any advance towards Zurich. But these were utterly inadequate to the occasion; and every moment in dread of being cut to pieces by the formidable forces of the five cantons, their cry for help roused the hearts of their fellow-citizens and soldiers to the height of passion. When the band approached of which Zuingle might almost be regarded as the leader, the men that had so long stood the brunt of the battle were falling on every side beneath the swords of the assailants. This spectacle presented itself in all its horrors to the eyes of the troops when they reached the summit of the mountain overlooking the valley in which the encounter had taken place. All seemed to depend upon the moment. With breathless precipitation Zuingle and his companions flung themselves down the narrow pass of the rock. They were in the valley; but they had not time to form and make head against the enemy. Every man, almost, fell a victim to his bravery; and among the heaps of the foremost slain lay the body of Zuingle, covered with wounds.*

Such was the end of this remarkable man; an end

* The battle was fought on the 11th of October, and near the village of Capel. Zuingle, when he found himself mortally wounded, fell on his knees, and exclaimed, "Ah! it matters not; my body may die; my soul cannot." His remains, it is said, were treated with barbarous and even disgusting indignity.—Sleidan, t. i., liv. viii., p. 335. Sculteti Annales, Dec. ii., p. 348.

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so unlike that which might be expected for an eminent servant of God, that we find it difficult to reconcile such a tragedy with any thing that is spiritual either in characters or events. But the habits of an age or country will exercise a commanding influence on the greatest and the holiest men; and where they bear not visibly on some point which religion or morals require to be defended, susceptible minds of every class will readily yield to the impulse. Zuingle did but obey the ordinary calls of his country in attending the army on this fatal occasion; and if he engaged in the conflict with all the ardour of a combatant who thought only of those who were falling around him, he surely obeyed a feeling which in itself deserves admiration, and can only create a contrary sentiment when viewed as repugnant to some precept of the gospel.

As a theologian, Zuingle seems to deserve attention rather for the ability with which he examined truth than for originality or profoundness of thought. Of ardent temper, he yet had patience sufficient to make him a persevering student and inquirer. This would have given success to his exertions in almost any path of life; but he happily added to his mental endowments the love of God in Christ, with all the purifying and elevating principles which spring from this great fountain of good. His labours were eminently successful. While his learning and accomplishments enabled him to address scholars in a style which has long since been praised for its elegance, he knew how to adapt himself to the humbler capacities of mankind at large. Thus he enjoyed at the same time the credit of being the centre of a circle composed of men of great reputation and ability, and the still more honourable fame of a minister of the gospel, devoted to his heavenly Master, successful in his labours, ready to suffer in the cause, and, though dying in the prime of manhood, leaving, as a testimony of the presence of the Holy Spirit, and of the divine blessing in his execution of the appointed task, a republished faith and a renovated church. That he did not agree with Luther on some points of importance to Christian unity, was the cause of dissention among reformers, at a time

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when harmony of opinion and purposes promised the mightiest advantages to the whole of Christendom. But while this was a natural consequence of free inquiry into the vast circle of religious doctrine, so also might it be taken as a forcible lesson on the great duty of both caution and charity. Neither Luther nor Zuingle could lay claim to infallibility; but that which they themselves would have shrunk from assuming, it became the fashion of sects and parties to assume for them. This is commonly the case in the movements which interest mankind, and is perhaps necessary to the establishment of any union, where worldly passions or prejudices are confessedly allowed to enter. The head of the party must not be supposed to have erred in any particular, or, at least, his followers are bound in honour not to confess that he has. But the same resolution to call men Rabbi, where the union is spiritual, or to make the profession of certain fundamental truths but introductory to an indiscriminate defence of whatever *the Master* has said, is as injurious to individual minds as it is to the common cause of truth. Let both Luther and Zuingle be tried by the gospel, and both will be seen to have drunk so deeply of the pure light of its spirit, that in all the grander features of their system that same gospel re-appears. But this affords not a warrant, that in things less clearly revealed, that in points which are presented to us through the flickering medium of minute argument, rather than under the broad shadowless rays of heaven, they may be equally trusted. That they have published the more essential portions of evangelical truth may afford a presumption that they are right in the rest; but not a certainty. Much less can such a conclusion be properly arrived at in regard to subjects not comprised within this range, for the farther from the central body of truth, the less confident ought we to be that its beams have reached our opinions.

The question agitated between the German and Swiss reformers, as to the priority of Luther or Zuingle, is scarcely worth attention. Priority, supported by reference to dates, could not prove that the one who began a little later than the other owed his design to

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foreign suggestions. And if it proved not this, it could confer no especial honour on the earlier reformer, nor could it make it appear that there was more of originality or power in his undertaking than there was in that of the other. Zuingle derived less advantage than Luther from stimulating events; but then he had to encounter far less dangers. He carried his designs more rapidly forward; but he had fewer obstacles to overcome. In zeal, integrity, and the desire for the welfare of souls, he was inferior to no man; but he was never called upon to exercise that heroism which gives so solemn a grandeur to the character of Luther. His richly-stored mind devoutly and successfully employed its resources in the defence of the gospel; but it had neither the gigantic force nor the profound perceptions which bestowed on Luther's its intellectual sovereignty. Sufficient for the important purposes which God had appointed him to execute, he had heard and felt in his heart, "As thy days, so shall thy strength be;" but the same power and sentiment bore Luther forward as on a rushing sea of thought; and while the one, according to the required measure of courage, ventured to assail factions and encounter their efforts for his ruin, and the power which Rome could exercise over his free country, the other braved, directly to their face, the vengeance of pontiffs and princes, and stood firm as a rock while the tempest of their wrath threatened him every moment with destruction. The personal characters of these great men were not cast in the same mould. Zuingle appears to have enjoyed a calm and equal temper, admitting of just so much excitement as is necessary to the attempting and carrying on of difficult purposes, but not subject to those alternations which by turns exalt the mind through all the degrees of astonishment and awe, and then leave it passionless, sad, and humbled. But Luther was accustomed to all these trying variations of feeling. Thence sprang many of his sublimest thoughts, and thence flowed that stream of frequent melancholy, which not only pressed heavily on his heart, but gave eccentricity to his imagination. Both were warm and affectionate in their friendships.

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Zuingle rejoiced in the communion of the learned and amiable men with whom he was associated; but Luther loved his friends with a feeling which seems to have given to every thought concerning them the tenderness of sympathy, and the energy of a prayer. Contrasted with this sentiment is that with which they regarded opponents. Zuingle was a controversialist, and manifested, on due occasion, the bitterness proper to the character; but he hurled no thunders to overwhelm, shot no fiery arrows at the heads and hearts of his enemies. Luther, on the other hand, drew lightnings from every corner of his capacious mind, which at times seemed an armoury filled with all kinds of weapons and missiles of destruction. Pontiffs, princes, orders, and dissidents of every class, felt the force of his onset, and, as far as in him lay, he pursued them till they shrunk into imbecility. In the capacity for actual labour, Zuingle exceeded most men; but he gave birth to none of those prodigies of learning, thought, and gigantic application seen in the weighty tomes of Luther, and in the simplest record of his life. They stood apart, therefore, in many points of character, and where they shared the same estimable qualities, they were still distinguished from each other by the greater intensity with which Luther felt and reasoned on the subjects which equally claimed their attention.

But whatever the personal character or the endowments of these venerable champions of religious truth and liberty, the question of priority, however answered, can neither add to nor detract from their respective merits. The Reformation in Switzerland sprung from circumstances, and was carried on by means proper to the country itself, and would have been carried on, at least through many of its earliest stages, had no other nation thought of attempting a similar change. That Zuingle and his companions were subsequently greatly encouraged by what was taking place in Germany; that they were excited by the ardour of Luther, and his noble successes, to look forward to the speedy overthrow of the whole papal system, there can be little doubt; but the independence with which they at all times supported

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their own views, sufficiently proves that they needed neither help nor counsel from others to carry forward the designs which God had appointed them to execute. Happily for the interests of religion, the grand doctrines of the gospel were, in both cases, placed before every other object. The points of difference were stoutly maintained, and frequently to the injury of charity and the many graces which depend upon it; but both Luther and Zuingle would know only Jesus Christ, and him crucified, as affording the means of salvation. The doctrine of human merits, the inventions for reconciling man to God, by methods short of a direct appeal to the one Mediator, were utterly despised. Neither again would own any other authority than Scripture for the establishment of the Christian creed; and to both the Spirit of God was the only interpreter acknowledged to be infallible, and indispensable to the right understanding of heavenly mysteries.

The doctrine of the Eucharist furnished the main subject of contention. While Luther could not divest himself of the belief of the real presence, yet rejected the popular notion of transubstantiation; the Swiss reformer embraced the simpler faith, of a spiritual, but not therefore less real, presence of the one atoning Saviour. By this the bread and wine were reduced to mere natural elements, and lost those claims to adoration which had been paid through so many ages of darkness. But it was the bread and wine alone that suffered any loss of glory in this view of the subject. The blessed sacrament itself was deprived of none of its grandeur; it offered no less grace, no fewer promises of life-reviving energy. If its force and influence depended upon the actual eating of the fleshly substance of Christ's body, then, indeed, the view taken by Zuingle was a heresy fatal to the best hopes of the believer. It cut him off from the ready means and the ever-present opportunity of convincing himself that he had partaken of Christ, and drove him to the difficult attempt of realizing a spiritual faith, of finding nourishment and support in the convictions of his soul; whereas, under the former creed, the observance of an outward ceremony, and the

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mastication of a wafer, secured to him a certain participation in the sacrifice of the true Paschal Lamb. But the Swiss reformer contended that Christ's sacrificed body could only be received by a far more difficult process than that of a corporeal eating; that the intentions and efficacy of the Eucharist were analagous to all the other parts of the gospel; that they belonged to the Spirit, were to be spiritually understood, and had no more to do with a fleshly presence in the bread than the smoke of incense with the internal thoughts and prayers which it has been sometimes used to represent.*

* The statement made by the reformers of Basil, in answer to some reports from Strasburg, affords the fairest view of the opinions prevalent both there and at Zurich. It had been said that they had the supper, but without Christ. To this they reply, 'Confitemur, Dominum Jesum sanctam suam cœnam instituisse, ad memorandam sanctam suam passionem cum gratiarum actione, ad annunciandam mortem suam, atque ad testificandam Christianam charitatem, et unitatem cum verâ fide. Et sicut in baptismo (in quo nobis ablutio à peccatis, quæ tamen à solo Patre, Filio et Spiritu Sancto perficitur, per ministrum ecclesiæ offertur) vera aqua manet: ita etiam in cœna Domini (in qua nobis cum pane et vino Domini verum corpus et sanguis Christi, per ministrum ecclesiæ præfiguratur et offertur) panis et vinum manet. Credimus autem firmiter, ipsummet Christum cibum esse credentium animarum ad vitam æternam, et nostras animas per veram fidem in crucifixum Christum, carne et sanguine Christi cibari et potari, ita ut nos corporis sui, tanquam unici nostri capitis membra, in eo, et ipse in nobis vivat, quibus in novissimo die, per eum et in eo in æternum gaudium et beatitudinem resurgamus."—Sculteti Annal., Dec. Sec., f. 454, an. 1534. With this we may compare the observations of Calvin in the year 1542. "Hoc tamen velim tibi curæ sit, apud eum efficere, ut apud quoscunque loquatur, non dubitet hoc testatum relinquere, non modo figurari in cœna communionem quam habemus cum Christo, sed etiam exhiberi: neque verba illa nobis dari à Domino, sed veritatem ac rem constare cum verbis. Hanc porro communionem non imaginariam esse: sed qua in unum corpus, unamque substantiam cum capite nostro coalescamus. Excludat interim libera voce omnia absurda, excipiat, caveat, modo in illo capite tam necessario nihil extenuet. Neque enim ambiguis aut obscuris verbis implicare licet, quod summam lucem ac perspicuitatem requirit. In ratione agendi, hoc expendere oportet, quale exemplum edituri sint fratres, si doctrinæ judicem habeant principem, ut quidquid sanxerit amplectendum protinus sit atque habendum pro oraculo. Quale ac quantum sit hoc præjudicium ad posteros. Certe si ita patimur nobis jugum imponi, prodimus nostra dissimulatione sacrum ministerium."—Calvini Epis. et Respons., f. 93, Ep. 43. In a letter sent to Farel, from Ratisbonne, in the month of May 1541, he says, "Jussi sumus omnes ordine dicere sententias: fuit una omnium vox, transubstantiationem rem esse fictitiam, repositionem superstitiosam, idolatricam esse adorationem, vel saltem periculosam, cum fiat sine verbo Dei. Me quoque exponere latine oportuit quid sentirem. Tametsi neminem ex aliis intellexeram, libere tamen sine timore offensionis, illam localem præsentiam damnari: adorationem asserui mihi esse intolerabilem. Crede mihi in ejusmodi actionibus opus est fortibus animis, qui alios confirment."—Ep. 31.

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In the general arrangements of public worship some striking differences existed between the reformed churches of Germany and Switzerland. In that of the former country, the feeling of the people strongly favoured the continuance of many of those decorations which had given so deep and rich a colouring to the services of religion. The German mind, strongly imbued with, and delighting in, all the more serious qualities of sentiment and imagination, exhibited in a remarkable manner the genuine characteristics of the middle ages. While the feelings hence arising were not allowed to obscure the eyes of the understanding, and therefore left it free to pursue truth, and accept it when revealed, they notwithstanding continued to possess sufficient influence over the heart to render it highly inexpedient in a reformer to contradict them in cases where the gospel did not plainly and distinctly demand the sacrifice. Had Luther simply calculated consequences, he would have been tender in making any unnecessary attempt to change the dispositions of the people in this respect. But Luther was himself thoroughly inspired by the national character. He had no less of its deep-toned imaginativeness, of its earnest and passionate feeling of solemn grandeur, than of its patient and courageous temper in inquiry. To him, accordingly, as well as to the people at large, the elevating accompaniments of social worship, or the varied ornaments of the temple, could hardly cease to be acceptable; and nothing, therefore, was removed or discontinued which had no evident connection with error or superstition. In Switzerland, on the other hand, the people had never existed under circumstances similar to those which had exercised so powerful an influence on the German mind. Agitated by struggles for liberty, which had left impressions not to be erased, they seem to have possessed little inclination to indulge in the species of thought or feeling which renders more than truth, in its simplest forms, necessary to the heart. The tranquillity of the German cities, with their ready supply of all the wants of life, left the mind at full liberty to indulge its sus-

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ceptibilities. But in Switzerland, the means of existence were to be gained by a hardier and more perilous exertion. Thought took the hard features of its parent, necessity, and, like the lower appetites, was rather anxious, at its awakening, to be satisfied with any healthy food that could be gained than curious about the means of obtaining luxuries. When it appeared, therefore, to Zuingle and his associates, that the work of reformation demanded the entire clearing away of whatever pertained to the earlier worship, they found but a brief opposition on the part of the people. The plainest service that could be adopted was soon found sufficient to satisfy the numerous congregations that gathered round the new preachers. Neither ceremonies, nor pealing anthems, nor the works of the painter or sculptor, were considered necessary as reliefs to the severer calls upon the attention. Prayer, and the exposition of the Divine Word, formed, in the eyes of the Swiss reformers, the grand business for which men met together in the house of God; and the hope of success in this all-important work, was proportioned to the close and unmingled regard with which it was pursued.

The death of Zuingle afforded fresh hopes to the hostile party; but he was immediately succeeded in his office at Zurich by a man who only wanted the fame of having originated the Reformation to give him as much influence amongst the people as his lamented predecessor. This was the pious and learned Henry Bullinger. Like other scholars of the time, he had studied for several years at Cologne, and there became imbued with the theology of Aquinas and Peter Lombard. But the providence and Spirit of God at length directed him to the Scriptures. His views were thereby enlarged, and with the expansion of his ideas on the subject of divine mysteries, he became daily more convinced of the necessity of the Bible as the fountain of true theology. This was the grand, the primary discovery in the case of all those great and noble-minded men to whom we are indebted for the Reformation,—the recognition, not simply of the authority of Scripture, but of the essential practical value of its communications in every attempt

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which the human mind may make to realize the apprehension of truth. It is in the certainty that the doctrines preached are divine, that the ministers of Christianity must in all ages find their only permanent support; but there is a vast difference between the conviction gained by a general acknowledgment that such is the belief of the Church, and that such doctrines have from generation to generation formed the staple of Christian creeds, and that which arises from, or is every day strengthened by, an immediate and individual appeal to the heavenly records. In the former case, if the temper of mind and all circumstances be favourable, there may be a faith and piety greatly superior to those which prevail among professed, but unthoughtful readers of Scripture. But supposing that the Word of God be truly and faithfully studied, the believer has a sense of nearness to the Spirit of Truth; a feeling of primitive communion, of the highest importance to that liveliness of faith which excites to an unhesitating course of devout activity. Bullinger found in the Bible the knowledge which he desired for the strengthening of his heart as well as the enlightening of his understanding The writings of the antient fathers had failed to satisfy him. Luther's works taught him to reject great masses of the common belief; but they directed him to Scripture, as affording the only infallible test of truth. On returning to Switzerland, he was appointed teacher of theology in the monastery of Cappel, where he remained about three years, when he took up his abode at Zurich, that he might enjoy the advantage of continual intercourse with Zuingle.

The extensive knowledge and ability, for which he soon became eminent, rendered him a valuable associate of the excellent men whose society he had sought. As the successor of Zuingle, he so worthily carried on the design of his revered master as to obtain the appellation of the Second Reformer; and for above forty years he continued to occupy the station to which his piety and learning had raised him in the esteem of his countrymen.

Œcolampadius survived Zuingle little more than a month. Switzerland was thus deprived of two of her greatest ornaments, and the Reformed Church of her earliest and most faithful champions. The success of

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the catholic cantons, which lost no time in pressing their advantage gained in the battle of Cappel, and in some attempts made to bring back the people to their former state, cast a cloud for a time over the prospects of the evangelical party.* But it was not to be injured by the necessity of continuing a long and hardy struggle against its opponents. The resolution of Bern contributed greatly to the improvement of affairs, and in the course of five or six years the Reformation was not only firmly established in the cantons, where it had early made its way, but was fast spreading over those parts of the country which had offered scarcely any opening to the efforts of its teachers. Of the thirteen cantons, Uri, Schweitz, Underwald, Zug, Fribourg, Lucerne, and Soleure, were catholic; Zurich, Bern, Basil, and Schaffhousen, were firmly attached to the evangelical Church; while Appenzel and Glaris remained neuter.†

The forces of the country would have been but unequally divided, and little encouragement would have existed for the reformers, had not the cantons which embraced their views possessed a share of wealth and intelligence sufficiently great to counterbalance the strength of their opponents in point of numbers.‡ But it was clearly seen that every effort ought to be made to form a union, if possible, with some of the protestant princes, whose alliance might afford them assistance, should they be exposed to any sudden attack. The Landgrave of Hesse had long been known as favourable to the views of Zuingle, and great efforts were made by Bucer to

* Several thousands of men fell in the encounters which followed the battle in which Zuingle perished. A treaty of peace was at length signed in the month of November 1531. By this it was agreed that the thirteen cantons should remain undisturbed in the profession of their religious opinions, and that they should renounce the leagues which had been formed with hostile intentions. This negotiation was entered into, notwithstanding the earnest remonstrances of the Pope's legate, who, it is said, observed to the catholic cantons, that it was infamous of them to stop, when by continuing the war they might have entered the reformed cities, and compelled the inhabitants to restore the former worship.—Fleury, liv. cxxx., n. 118.

† Ruchat. Hist. de la Reform., t. vi., p. 456.

‡ The House of Savoy was dispossessed of the Pays de Vaud by the Bernese, after having held it 276 years.—Ruchat. Hist. de la Reform. de la Suisse, t. vi., liv. xiii., p. 485.

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induce him to use his influence with the league of Smalcalde to admit the Protestants of Switzerland into that formidable association. But the violence of the Duke of Savoy led to results which enabled them to secure as lofty and independent a position as the Lutherans themselves. By a skilful employment of their strength, Lausanne and the other towns on the shore of Lake Leman, were brought under the control of Bern; and this success was soon followed by the introduction of reformed preachers into all those places. Geneva, in the meantime, was freed from the yoke of Savoy; and the people, emancipated from the tyranny under which they had so long groaned, celebrated their triumph by the destruction of the images, and other objects of their former worship. Farel and his associates now preached freely in the churches of the city. The year 1535 was celebrated by a solemn decree of the council, which awarded liberty of worship to both Catholics and Protestants. But it is rarely the case that the triumph of a new and powerful party stops with the acquisition of liberty. It has defeated its opponents in gaining the privilege of following out its own views and designs. The usual consequence is, that either the successful aspirant pursues his course till he have completely ruined his antagonist, or that the latter leaves him to himself by a hasty retreat from the field. This was the case at Geneva. Notwithstanding the liberty of worship secured, as it seemed, to both parties, the catholic bishop soon found it expedient to retire from the city, and fix his episcopal residence for the future at Annecy, a small town belonging to the Duke of Savoy, about six leagues from Geneva. The reformers immediately took possession of the cathedral, and Farel having preached to crowded congregations, the edifice was, by common consent, despoiled of its altars, images, and paintings, and reduced to the same state as the churches of Zurich or Basil.

Farel had for his companion in these proceedings the zealous and pious Peter Viret. This distinguished pastor of the evangelical Church had begun his ministry

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at the early age of twenty; but having long studied in the university of Paris, and possessing great natural abilities, he preached with the most encouraging success. It was at Lausanne that he found a field which promised a return for his anxious labours. There he accordingly continued to support the cause of the gospel, and his exertions contributed in no small degree to aid the designs of Farel, and the other supporters of the evangelical Church. The bishop of the diocese had endeavoured to repress the efforts which were so shortly to attain complete success. Perseverance on the part of Viret, and the interference of Bern, procured at length the object sought; and when, in a public dispute, the inhabitants of the city heard the arguments fairly stated on both sides, the greater part appear readily to have thrown the whole weight of their influence into the scale of protestant belief. In the year 1536, Lausanne became entirely subject to the authority of Bern;* liberty of conscience was accordingly proclaimed, and in the following year an academy was instituted, with numerous professors, at the head of whom was the celebrated Conrad Gesner. With this distinguished

* "Soon after the authority of Bern over Lausanne was established, an order was issued for the holding of a public disputation, and all the ecclesiastics of the district were commanded to attend. Farel prepared ten theses, on which to conduct the debate. The first of these concerned justification; and it was stated that Scripture recognizes no other way of justification than that which is by faith in Jesus Christ, once offered, and no more to be offered. In the second article, Christ is named as the only high priest, the true and sovereign sacrifice, mediator, and intercessor. The third speaks of the Church; and Scripture, it is said, knows no other but that which is composed of those who believe that they owe their redemption solely to the blood of Christ; who believe in His Word, and who, knowing that this Saviour has been, in respect to His bodily presence, taken away, still continues to sustain, govern and vivify all by virtue of His Spirit. In the fourth, baptism and the communion are spoken of as the only sacraments, so called, because they are symbols and signs of secret things, that is to say, of the grace of God. The fifth states that the Church recognizes no other ministry but that which administers the word and the sacraments. Confession and absolution are confined, in the sixth, to those which belong to personal communion with God. In the seventh, it is said, this Church owns no other service of God but that which is spiritual, and conducted according to His Word. The eighth owns the power of the civil magistrate. The ninth, the lawfulness of marriage to all men; and the tenth leaves things indifferent to be used or rejected, according to the dictates of conscience and prudence. Charles V. endeavoured to stop this disputation, but his authority was not acknowledged."—Ruchat., t. v., liv. xiv., p. 693.

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scholar and naturalist was Celius Secundus Curio, a man of bold but clear intellect, and who rendered himself remarkable by his argument, laboriously worked out, intended to prove that the number of the blessed hereafter will be far greater than that of the damned.

It was while Geneva was preparing for the most momentous act of the struggle in which it was engaged that Calvin reached the city. Though not federally connected with the Swiss union, its situation and influence rendered it highly expedient, both for itself and for the cantons, that it should be associated with them in all questions of policy and religion. The victory which had been gained over the Duke of Savoy rendered this connection as practicable as it was necessary. Farel found himself, from these causes, on the point of becoming responsible for the spiritual guardianship of a vast and excited population. Calvin, who was returning from his visit to the amiable Duchess of Ferrara, and his friends in France, stopped at Geneva on his way to Strasburg, but with no other view than that of holding some slight converse with his pious friends.* Taking advantage of his presence, Farel laid an interdict upon his proceeding further. He knew the difficulties which must necessarily be encountered in assuming the pastoral care of a people situated like the inhabitants of Geneva. The character of Calvin was also well known to him; his indomitable courage, his energy, his eloquence and copious learning. No man, perhaps, could have presented himself at such a juncture better or so well prepared to take a part in the labours opened to the reformers in the newly-converted state. "I warn you," said the venerable Farel, when he saw Calvin hesitating about accepting his invitation, "I warn you against seeking a retreat where you may quietly prosecute your studies, when you are thus called to the service of God and His gospel. If you prefer the indulgence of your own views to the fulfilment of the

* Calvin had been constrained, by the war between France and the Emperor, to take the way by Geneva.—Hottinger, t. III., p. 715.

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duties to which you are thus summoned, be assured the Lord will not prosper you."

Calvin felt the full force of this appeal to his heart and conscience. The wishes expressed so strongly by Farel were repeated by the consistory and chief men of the city. Yielding to these united calls, he accepted the proposals made him; and in the month of August 1536, was formally appointed one of the pastors of Geneva. He soon found that his colleagues had been fully justified in seeking for the help of a bold and active associate. The people over whom they were placed exhibited at present more of the busy and contentious spirit of a new sect than of the sedate and thankful feelings which ought to attend an emancipation from error and ecclesiastical tyranny. While a part of the inhabitants still remained violently attached to the old system, and some of them would fain have restored the authority of the Duke of Savoy, the mass of those who had embraced the reformed doctrines were altogether undetermined as to the manner in which it would be proper or expedient to proceed in the erection of a new system of church government. Numerous and fierce disputes arose out of these sources of contention; and a spirit of doubt and dissention was created, which threatened to produce no small quantity of evil, even after the original motives to quarrel had passed away. In such a state of things the labours of the evangelical pastors could not fail to be dangerous as well as difficult; and neither Calvin nor Farel was of a disposition to yield when the interests of piety were so eminently at stake. A constitution for the new Church was proposed, in which were plainly manifested the severe spirit of its ruling ministers. Nothing was allowed either to the weakness of human nature, which might claim a right to the consecrated forms of antique ceremony, or to the pride of rank and authority, which might contend for the expediency of indulging the few, to secure the amiable virtues of humility and self-abasement in the many. The resistance to such a system will always be violent in proportion to the good faith and sincerity of those with whom it originates.

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Worldly and sensual men, whatever their profession, cannot endure the direct appeal made to their consciences; still less can they patiently suffer to find themselves positively cut off, by a strict spiritual rule and discipline, from all the retreats into which it was impossible they should be followed by the maxims of a less subtle system.

The syndics had passed a decree, by which it was declared, that the Roman Catholic Church and worship had ceased to exist in Geneva; and the following year an inscription in brass was put up, as a memorial, it was said, of the grace of God, through which the yoke of Antichrist had been thrown off, superstition abolished, and liberty finally established. So little, however, was originally understood of the sacrifices required to carry into effect the proposed plans, that when Calvin and Farel insisted on not subjecting their charge to the rules which governed the Church at Bern, they were not only opposed, but ordered to leave the city. In a reformation like that which had taken place in the protestant cantons, it ought to have been seen by every party concerned, that nothing was so likely to hinder its progress as any sudden attempt to destroy the independence of such men as Farel and Calvin. The points now discussed might well be considered as deserving serious attention in times of peace and security; but it was surely unwise in the clergy of Bern to excite Geneva, so lately enlightened, to contend with its venerable teachers on subjects essential neither to Christian doctrine nor Christian liberty. Leavened bread had hitherto been employed in the administration of the communion. It was now argued that this custom ought not to be continued. The use of the font in baptism, the restoration of the festival days, and other observances of a similar nature, were also insisted upon. When the meeting held at Lausanne decided in favour of the faction at Geneva, Calvin justly contended that the pastors established there should have been left at liberty to act according to their judgment in such matters. As this was a sentiment little likely to obtain attention in the present state

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of the city, he readily yielded to the storm; and when told that he must leave the place in two days, contented himself with remarking that such treatment would have been a bad reward for his labours had he served men; but that he was happily the servant of a Being who paid those who sought him not below their deserts, but even when they had no claim whatever.*

Thus banished from a province in which he had already begun to effect important good, and for which he was so admirably fitted, Calvin, after a visit to Zurich, accepted the invitation of Bucer and the other divines of Strasburg, to take up his abode in that city. There he found a people ready to receive with gratitude the instructions of so eminent a teacher. A congregation was formed which soon became conspicuous for its piety and acquirements. As professor of theology, he won the profound respect of the whole city; and when the diet of Worms was about to renew the discussion of affairs so important to the Protestant cause, he was chosen by the senate of Strasburg to support its claims before the princes of the empire. Among the Anabaptists, who at that time greatly disturbed the peace of the people, Calvin exerted his powers of reasoning with distinguished success, and both he and his congregation had ample cause to rejoice that the providence of God had led him to Strasburg.†

Geneva, in the meantime, was distracted with factions. While men of piety, excited by the circumstances in which they were placed, strove for conscience' sake to carry points otherwise indifferent, the selfish and profane took advantage of the season to make a spoil of whatever is most essential to the happiness of a community. In the midst of the confusion which thus prevailed, Cardinal Sadoleto, Bishop of Carpentras, sent a letter to the inhabitants, exhorting them in the most persuasive and affectionate terms to embrace once more the doctrines of their forefathers and the Roman Church. He had chosen his opportunity well. The discord which at present existed was a scandal to

* Beza, Calvini Vit., Hottinger, t. III., p. 730. † Ibid.

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Christianity; and it required more of penetration and forethought than most men possess to prevent the consideration of the immediate evil from destroying the hopes which were properly allied to the truths now struggling for pre-eminence. But, happily for the interests of Protestantism, the cardinal had written his letter in Latin. The popular arguments, therefore, which he had used never reached the ears of the people; and before they could be thoroughly mastered by the higher classes, and thence in a new shape diffused among the inhabitants generally, Calvin had prepared an answer; and with the love of a faithful pastor, ever mindful of his flock, notwithstanding its wilfulness, he employed his genius so well, that the Cardinal saw it would be utterly in vain to assail a community over whose liberties there was placed so watchful and powerful a guardian.

The party which had been chiefly instrumental in the expulsion of Calvin and his associates was led by two men of fierce temper and discreditable character. In the progress of their plans, the dispositions by which they were animated became every day more evident. At length one of them, in a fit of rage, involved himself in the guilt of homicide; and the other, having been discovered engaged in a conspiracy, only escaped justice by throwing himself out a window, the consequences of the fall ending in his speedy death. The confusion which attended these events induced many of those who had been most active in the late struggle to desire the return of Calvin. They knew that he alone possessed sufficient resolution and ability to restore tranquillity. Messengers were accordingly despatched to Strasburg, to obtain the countenance of the senate for this design. Calvin was also himself addressed in terms of earnest intreaty. He was then at Ratisbonne; and both the affairs of the Diet and the affection which he entertained for the people among whom he had taken up his sojourn, seemed to place almost insuperable obstacles to the wishes of the Genevese. But pressed on all sides to return to a charge which had so many argu-

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ments in its favour, he resigned himself entirely to the will and disposal of God. "Think not of me," he said to his friends; "let nothing be regarded in this matter but the glory of God and the advantage of the Church. Though not very ingenious, I could easily find reasons sufficient to excuse the part I might take in the eyes of men. But I know that my business is with God, who can detect all our craftiness. To Him, therefore, I submit my soul in willing and complete obedience; and when I cannot determine by my own counsel, I yield myself to those through whom I hope the Lord will speak to me."* The promise that Viretus would take the superintendence of the congregation at Geneva till he could himself conveniently proceed thither, and that that excellent man, as well as Bucer, would probably be permanently associated with him in the ministry, greatly contributed to his satisfaction in yielding to the present call.

In the month of September, 1541, Calvin returned to Geneva.† The senate, and the people at large, received him with every demonstration of respect. That they had recovered a blessing which they once treated so lightly, but to the full extent of which they were now keenly sensible, inspired most of them with a feeling of deep gratitude to God. Instead of allowing dissensions or jealousies to interfere any longer with the great objects which it was their common interest to pursue, they allowed Calvin to adopt whatever measures he might consider best calculated to carry his purpose. He had, indeed, openly declared that he would not attempt again the pastoral superintendence of the city, unless he were first assured that

* Calvini Epis. et Respons. Epis. 36, f. 78.

† Hottinger, t. III., p. 743. Beza, Cal. Vit. "It was shortly after this time that the Swiss Church lost one of its greatest ornaments, Leo Juda. Bullinger, in recording his death, says, 'Certe bona pars vitæ meæ decessit in morte adamantissimi fratris. Et nisi me spes futuræ vitæ et resurrectionis mortuorum consolaretur, non essem ferendo.' When Leo found he could live only a few days, he sent for his friend, Bibliander, and, in almost the agonies of death, saw through the portion of his translation which still remained unfinished. Leo Juda was among the earliest friends of Zuingle. His translation was printed at Paris, by Robert Stephen, in 1545; and the theologians of Salamanca thought so well of it, that they published it almost unaltered." —Melchior, Adam, p. 44; Hottinger, t. III., p. 752.

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means could be adopted to secure the free and undisturbed exercise of religion. With this in view, he stipulated for the establishment of a presbytery, and the creation of such laws as might be required for its proper election and government. At the same time he prepared a catechism, which was esteemed so excellent that it not only became the favourite elementary book in the churches of Switzerland, but was translated into most of the European languages; and, that it might want nothing to render it venerable in the eyes of the learned, it soon made its appearance both in Greek and Hebrew.

Though resolved to leave as little as possible to the caprice of the people, Calvin still expressed himself in favour of moderation in things that pertained not to the essentials of the gospel. This tended greatly to confirm his power in matters of real importance, and he assumed the authority of chief of the presbytery, with the full intention of exercising it according to his views of the present necessity. The intermingling of a large proportion of laymen in the formation of this body, not only lessened any suspicion of his wishes, but did, in reality, prove his sincere desire to prevent the return of that species of tyranny from which it had been the primary object of the Reformation to deliver the Church of Christ. In claiming for himself a degree of influence which wore, at first sight, a dangerous aspect, he desired nothing but the welfare of the people, who had called him to their assistance. Anarchy of the most fearful kind had long threatened them with ruin. The seeds of this evil were not yet all eradicated. Even to secure a brief period for energetic action, to lay any foundation whatever for future tranquillity and usefulness, it was necessary that he should be assured of no interference with his plans while yet new and immature. His ability, moreover, was equal to his zeal. Highly accomplished in every species of learning, he rendered his advice as important to the deliberations of the senate, as his mingled injunctions and exhortations were to the assemblies of the clergy. Add to this, that he spared himself no labour, and was never anxious for any other kind of

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reward than that which a wise and virtuous man derives from the consciousness that he is faithfully serving God.* While his income, at no period, amounted to a larger sum than was barely sufficient to supply him with the humble necessaries of life, he had to perform duties which required the highest exercise of ability, and an entire devotion to his calling. Placed in a situation which tempted assailants, he had to contend, at one time, with the fierce and daring Anabaptist; at another, with the subtle Romanist. In the pause between the onsets of these antagonists, he heard the loud murmurs of the several parties into which Protestants themselves were divided. To confute the one, and to persuade the others to peace, was a part of the labour for which he deemed himself eminently responsible. Like Luther, also, he was far from remaining contented with affording those partial defences to the truth which may be supplied in controversy. Delighting in the wide fields of divine learning, he went on his way rejoicing; approaching, it is true, nearer sometimes to the solemn recesses of heavenly mysteries than may seem safe, but never without recognizing the holiness of the place, or with feet unwashed by Christ.

Having been appointed professor of theology, he delivered three lectures weekly, and the foundation was thus laid of a large portion of his commentaries. The meetings of the clergy, and those of the consistory, were always conducted under his personal observation. During alternate fortnights, he preached every day; and the Friday of each week was devoted to a general assembly of his congregation. After an experience of about two years, he introduced a new liturgy into the

* "He had for only a short period the united assistance of Farel and Viretus, who were soon called to their former scenes of exertion. The preaching of these three great men is thus described by Beza: 'Excellebat quadam animi magnitudine Farellus, cujus vel audire absque tremore tonitrua, vel ardentissimas preces precipere, nemo posset, quin in ipsum pene cœlum subveheretur. Viretus facundiæ suavitate sic excellebat ut auditores ab ipsius ore necessario penderent. Calvinus quot sonabat verba, tot gravissimis sententiis auditoris mentem explebat: ut sæpe mihi in mentem venerit, perfectum quodammodo videri posse pastorem qui ex tribus illis esset conflatus.' Corault was associated with Farel and Calvin in the earlier part of their labours, but he died a few months after their expulsion from Geneva."—Calvini Vit.

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Church; and no means were left unemployed which seemed calculated to fix the people in the practice of true religion. That many difficulties would present themselves to the undertakings of a man like Calvin, can create little surprize. The fearless manner in which he enforced the rules of discipline, would, of itself, have been sufficient to raise against him a host of enemies. His firmness and success are therefore alike remarkable, and the final establishment of the Church of Geneva, on the model which he had cast, is one of the wonders of these wonderful times.

The troubles excited by the different views of Luther and Zuingle on the subject of the Eucharist, were not yet ended. Bucer beheld the progress of the controversy with peculiar dread. He employed the whole force of his influence in an endeavour to soften the asperity of the dispute; and even ventured to expose himself to the charge of pursuing a conduct scarcely agreeable to the dignity of his character as a divine and a reformer. Every effort had been made on the part of Strasburg to obtain permission to sign the confession of the German Protestants, the tenth article being omitted. These endeavours not succeeding, a separate confession was drawn up, and severally signed by the deputies of Constance, Menningen and Lindan, with those of Strasburg. To this summary of faith Zuingle is said to have given his ready assent, but expressed some fear that any formal and public acknowledgment of its entire correctness might lead to dangerous consequences. He was not mistaken, it is considered, in entertaining these apprehensions. Bucer was willing to sacrifice much more than the Swiss reformers generally to the great object which he had in view.* The temper excited by his further proceedings shows how prophetical almost had been the dread entertained by Zuingle.

* Sculteti Annales, Dec. ii., p. 352. Bucer, in 1527, greatly offended Luther by the observations which he added to his Latin translation of the Postilla. Luther wrote to the printer of the translation, saying that his work had been crucified by the annotations which Bucer had appended, and desiring that his letter might be added to the next volume as an antidote. Bucer excused himself with as much caution as possible.—Hospiniani Hist. Sacrament., p. ii., p. 73.

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Men of the highest character in the Swiss Church were agitated, beyond measure, at the prospect of a union with the Germans, purchased by the alteration of what was regarded as a fundamental article of their creed. That the Lutherans would themselves yield to any modification of their own opinion was utterly hopeless. They had even so far forgotten the rules of charity and sound argument, as to insinuate that the cruel death of Zuingle, and all the miseries which followed, might be ascribed to his errors on the question of the real presence. The distress under which the Swiss reformers were labouring at this period, seems to have favoured the notion that they might be persuaded to lay aside their more peculiar opinions, or at least purchase union by silence on the points in debate. How little Luther was disposed to admit them to terms, soon became evident, by his letter to the senate of Frankfort. In this famous epistle, he calls all the Zuinglians archdevils, and lets us plainly see, by the language which he employs, that the hypothesis of Bucer, or the modified sentiments afterwards promulged by Calvin, were as far from obtaining his approval as those of Zuingle himself. "I have heard," he says, "to my great comfort, that in many places the same doctrine is taught as that which I myself uphold. But there are those who, finding that they had got deep in the mire, no longer keep up the old cry of mere bread and wine in the sacrament, but, changing their tone, use other words, yet hold both in thought and practice their former notion. With their mouths they say that Christ's body and blood are truly present in the sacrament. When a simple-minded man hears this, he supposes that they teach our doctrine, and thereupon comes to the office, and receives but simple bread and wine, for this only do they give, and nothing more do they mean. The secret gloss and notion is, that the true body and blood of Christ are present, but spiritually only, and not bodily; that they are received into the heart only, and that by faith, and not with the mouth, which receives but simple bread and wine. Now, is this not a devilish kind of conjuring with the words of Christ? And are not unsuspecting souls

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shamefully deceived thereby, and robbed of the sacrament?"*

Having compared this mode of explaining the doctrine of the Eucharist with the sophistries of Arianism and the Romanists, he says, "And thus acts our double-tongued faction now. They declare that Christ's body and blood are truly present in the sacrament, but spiritually, not bodily, and yet continue in their former error, contending that it is not necessary for the common people to understand in what manner Christ's body is in the sacrament, it being quite enough if they believe that the body is there according to the meaning of Christ. Believe, that is, that Christ's body is bodily in heaven, and spiritually in the sacrament, thou wilt then have in spirit and in faith the body which Christ meant, although, in the bread and wine, thou receive nothing but bread and wine. Thus they make the Supper of the Lord of no effect, and allow the people to live and die

* Calvin's dislike to any thing like concealment, or confessing indefinitely what ought to be believed with sincerity of heart, is stated in language which Luther himself might have employed. "Respondeant pro se alii quicquid volent: mihi tamen suam hanc facilitatem nunquam probabunt. Quantum ad summam ipsam spectat, ut tibi penitus assentiar, conscientia mea non patitur. Edictum nempe tolerabile esse censes, ac tuto a vobis posse recipi. Expendamus ergo id quod continet. Principio approbat N. formulam. At qualis illa est obsecro? Tu Buceri obscuritatem vituperas; et merito. At nihil est in Bucero adeo perplexum, obscurum, flexiloquum, atque ut sic loquar tortuosum. Exceptio tamen additur, ut tam hæc confessio quam catechismis locum habeant, si certo modo explicentur. Quo remittimur? Hoc ergo a vobis quæritur, ut spondeatis vos nunquam discessuros a sententia vobis incognita. Deinde quid putas illic fuisse disputatum, nisi Christum non esse inclusum in pane? Id autem N. perinde accipit, ac si nihil aliud foret quam signum. Quicquid sit, non ausim credere mysterium cœnæ illic fuisse bene ac rite explicatum. Ad confessio N. adjungitur. Equidem non nego quin istud multum sit. Sed mihi non sufficit, præsertim ubi omnia iterum ad disputationem illam et formulam quæ in cœnæ administratione recitari solet, exiguntur. Atque ut hoc unum mali sit, persuaderi nequeo, qui sententiam hanc tulerunt, sanam de hac re sententiam tenere. Jam ejus erit interpretari, cujus fuit pronuntiare. Ita perjurii alligatus judicabitur, qui secus docuerit quam ipsi judices assequantur. Neque hac sola in parte erit periculum. Vetat enim ne de ullo novo ritu, aut novis ceremoniis verba posthac fiant. Quis autem nescit, illum et excommunicationem, et frequentiorem cœnæ usum, et multa alia hoc nomine comprehendere, quæ nos desideramus, ac restituta cupimus? Tacendum tamen erit. Cum ita scientes ac volentes laqueum vobis inductis, cogitate non finem calamitatis hic fore, sed initium. Dominus enim vestram mollitiem severiore aliquo flagello corriget, si negligitis occurrere, cum palam jaciuntur fundamenta perniciosæ tyrannidis."—Calvini. Epis. et Respon., Ep. 44, p. 94. In the same spirit he said, at a later period, "Alia longe sacræ cœnæ ratio est, quam nemo ex manu eorum sumet sine turpi sanæ doctrinæ abnegatione."—Ep. 368, p. 716.

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without the sacrament; for, they say, what need is there of the sacrament, that is, of simple bread and wine, seeing we have Christ's body and blood spiritually in our hearts? What can we expect from such hypocrisy and lying, wherein we find them falsifying not only the truth, but mistifying even their own belief? What title can they have to the character of Christians who thus plot and deceive, and, instead of making their doctrine freely known, pass it off under the cloak of vain pretences? What can a pious heart do when it discovers such wickedness and deceit in its teachers, or should it only suspect them to be there? Thinkest thou it could find peace in such base trifling as this, 'Believe the body which Christ meant, and ask no further questions?' No, dear friends! this belief he has, whether he come to the sacrament or not; but this he inquires, and this he will know, whether he is to receive only simple bread and wine with his mouth. He asks not what he should believe in his heart respecting Christ and his body, but what shall be given to him by the hand of the minister. . . . . This then is my advice, and for which I stand responsible before God. Whosoever knows that his minister teaches the doctrine of Zuingle, let him stand apart, and refrain from the sacrament all his life long; let him die and suffer every thing, rather than receive it from such a teacher. Or, should he find himself placed under one of those double-tongued pastors, who declare with their lips that the body and blood of Christ are in the sacrament, while they hide their true meaning in darkness, let him boldly go, or send to him, and inquire plainly what it is that he offers him, and what it is that he eats, putting aside the consideration of what is believed in the heart, and only demanding to know what it is that hand and mouth receive."

Against the argument on which the more moderate of the Swiss divines insisted so much, Luther returns again and again to the charge. "If," says he, "the preacher has nothing more to do than to exhort the people to believe what Christ meant, who would not be able to preach? or who would not be scholars in such a school?

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For we might, in this case, dispense with the trouble of preaching or learning, and commit the whole affair to Christ himself, saying, 'We believe what Christ believes,' or, which would be still better, 'We let Christ believe for us, and take care of what we should believe.' Ah! this would indeed make most excellent Christians and golden brothers; for thus also the Papists say, that they believe what the Church believes; and in the same manner the Poles declared, 'We believe what our king believes.' And what can be a better faith than that which gives so little trouble, and requires so little thought? A doctor once met a coal-heaver on the bridge at Prague, and, out of Christian compassion, asked him what he believed. 'I believe,' said the coal-heaver, 'what the Church believes.' 'And what does the Church believe?' asked the doctor. 'What I believe,' answered the coal-heaver. When the doctor came to die, and was hard pressed by the devil, he had at last not a retreat left him but this: 'I believe what the coal-heaver believes.' So also is it told of the great Thomas Aquinas, that when he drew near his end he could do nothing against the devil but press the Bible in his arms, and say, 'I believe what is contained in this book.' That is well: but such a belief can never do the devil any harm. . . . Fully and plainly, therefore, have I taught in my little book against these visionaries, that if a Christian be pressed by tropeists and figurists, he should stand firm and immovable, adhering to the words of Christ, and believing what the words themselves declare, that the body and blood of Christ are in the bread and wine. . . . . Lastly, to my great horror, I hear, that in some churches, and before some altars, the two parties actually partake of the same sacrament, the one believing that they receive only bread and wine, while the other believe that they are participating of the true body and blood of Christ. It is scarcely, however, possible to believe that a preacher, or one who has the care of souls, should be so wicked and abandoned as to be silent on such a matter, and allow both parties to walk each on its own path, and to receive the sacrament, and believe, each according to its own views. Should

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there be such, they must have hearts harder than any stone, or steel, or adamant, and ought to be considered as very apostles of wrath. The Turks and Jews, who despise and deny our sacrament, are far better, since they lead us into no error or idolatry. But they must be the very companions of the archdevil who give me simple bread and wine, and let me regard it as the body and blood of Christ. Let those who have teachers of this kind flee from them as from the devil himself."*

But these feelings entertained by Luther respecting the views of Zuingle were not more earnest than those which the Swiss themselves cherished in opposition to any proposed compromise. Œcolampadius, on his deathbed, exhorted his brethren to endure with constancy the troubles which were coming upon them, and to sacrifice nothing to fear. "The Lord," said he, "will defend his own cause. But would, that if dangers arise, it were possible for me to pour out this my soul again and again in the support of the truth! Yea! it is possible, for our love is undivided, and the bond in Christ is indissoluble, and all things are common to His saints. We have not been guilty of corrupting the truth. I go by the grace of God, with a good conscience, to the

* Warnungschrift an die zu Frankfurt am Mayn. Luther's Reform. Hist. Schrift., t. III., p. 294. Luther had made many efforts to draw Zuingle himself into the controversy, some time before that reformer could be persuaded to take up the gauntlet. Zuingle said, afterwards, that he had used this forbearance in the hope that Luther might learn to think more correctly on the subject, or at least cease from pursuing the dispute with such madness and hatred against his brethren. An answer was returned to the epistle by three ministers of the Reformed Church at Frankfort. They complained bitterly of Luther's violence and injustice, affirmed that he had spoken after the reports of ignorant slanderers, and that they were willing to prove their doctrine by the Word of God, for that they did in verity seek, when they partook of the Lord's Supper, his true body and his true blood. Bucer, in the month of May, went to Zurich, and while using all his power of persuasion to restore concord, said that he had ever remained faithful to his confession of faith, as set forth in the disputation at Bern; and that so, by the grace of God, he would continue to do to the last moment of his life. On the other hand, he stated his belief that Luther differed from Zuingle more in words than in actual opinion, for that he was sure, and was able to prove, that he did not understand Christ's presence in the sacrament in a sense which contradicted the principles of their faith. The divines of Zurich had prepared an apology, but suppressed it for a time, at the earnest entreaty of their associates, who feared that it would destroy the last hope of concord.—Hospiniani Hist. Sacrament., pars ii., pp. 74, 214, 221.

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tribunal of Christ. There it will be seen that the Church has suffered no injury through us. Of this, I leave you the witnesses, and confirm it with my last breath."

One of the most learned and judicious defenders of the evangelical party at this time was Wolfgang Musculus. The history of this distinguished scholar is not without interest. Educated as a monk, and early admitted to profession, he was remarkable for qualities which would have deservedly placed him at the head of his monastery. But with the mild piety and ready obedience to severe discipline, which characterized his youth, he had the love of truth so deeply seated in his heart, that nothing could induce him to join his brethren in the common abuse of Luther and his doctrines. "I know," he said, "that Luther may be in error as to some things; but we ought not on this account to brand him as a heretic. Augustine himself has said, 'Err, I may, but I am not therefore a heretic.'" This zeal in defence of the reformer obtained for Musculus the dangerous title of "The Lutheran Monk."

For some time the faithful attention which he paid to the ordinary duties of his situation preserved him from the consequences of this respect for the new opinions. At length persecution began to regard him as its proper spoil. He was obliged to flee from his convent; and after enduring many hardships, and passing through various perils, found himself at Strasburg. There he married, but with so bad a prospect of obtaining any employment as a preacher, that, while his wife was obliged to maintain herself by servitude, he saw no means of improving his condition but by learning some mechanical trade. He accordingly put himself to a weaver, undertaking to give his labour free till he should have learned the art. In the house of his employer, however, he met with a violent teacher of the Anabaptists, and the influence which this man exercised over the family appeared so prejudicial to their minds, that Musculus could not refrain from entering into the discussion of his errors. He thereby created a powerful enemy; and when the proposed term of free labour

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grew to a close, he was dismissed, being in a still worse situation than that in which he was some few months before. But his poverty would not allow him to yield to idle grief. He went and consulted with his wife, and finding that the fosse round the city was about to be enlarged, and that a number of labourers would be wanted, he anxiously offered himself to the overseer, and was accordingly enrolled among the persons engaged to execute the undertaking. On the evening preceding the day when he was to commence his work, he spent some time in a solitary ramble round the fortifications, and then returned to his wife, to speak of their sad fortunes, and calculate, probably, the few chances which existed of their ever being placed in better circumstances. But the great Head of the Church had not forgotten him. His providence had only allowed him to be humbled and chastened, that he might know more truly how to exercise the lowliest offices of the Christian ministry. Through some persons acquainted with his wife, he received information that a neglected district, a few miles distant from Strasburg, stood much in need of a teacher, and that Bucer, and the other evangelical ministers of the city, would be greatly pleased if he would take charge of the place. The call was joyfully accepted, though no emolument was to attend it, and the necessary duties obliged him to walk many miles every week, and to struggle with all the difficulties belonging to the instruction of a people but little acquainted with the principles of religion. His means of existence, while performing his arduous duties as minister of the village of Dorlizheim, depended upon what he could do in quality of amanuensis to Bucer. Received into the house of that eminent man, he was found capable of rendering him most acceptable aid by transcribing works for the press. Bucer himself wrote, it is said, so bad a hand, that it not only puzzled the printers, but, after a few days, the author himself. Musculus, however, had the happy faculty of not merely writing with exquisite beauty, but also of readily deciphering the worst-formed characters. This rendered his services invaluable to his employer; and during the period that he continued in his house

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he had ample opportunity of proving the extent of his knowledge and his numerous accomplishments, as well as the noble and simple virtues of his soul.

At length the fatigue attending his frequent walks to Dorlizheim, and the situation of his wife, about to become a mother, obliged him to determine upon making himself a home among the poor peasants who had reaped so much advantage from his instructions. He accordingly prepared for removing; but this required little exertion, for the only piece of furniture he possessed was a wooden bedstead, brought from the cell of his monastery. So far, however, as their means allowed them, his poor but loving people lessened his necessities. They brought him whatever they could spare from their own dwellings, and while his immediate distress was thus removed, he in some degree provided for the future by opening a little school, which was soon frequented by as many of the youth of the neighbourhood as had any desire of learning. The exquisite gentleness of the master, combined with that genuine ability which excites reverence even in the youngest mind, quickly rendered the school at Dorlizheim famous throughout the district; but, notwitstanding this success, so small was the sum produced, that Musculus and his family would probably have died of want had not the senate of Strasburg granted a trifling allowance for the duty which he performed as pastor of the village.

But his ability became, in time, too generally known and appreciated to allow of his being left in this humble situation. The chief persons at Strasburg were convinced of his merit, and refused not to acknowledge it. He was, therefore, called to an employment in the town, and soon after visited Augsburg, where his preaching was so acceptable to the people, that he was appointed first to the church of St. Cross, and then to that of the Virgin, in that city. The scene of his labours was greatly enlarged by this change; and he continued, for eighteen years, to preach the gospel at Augsburg with the most happy success. When the mistaken policy of the Emperor led him to countenance

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again the outbreak of a persecuting spirit, Musculus was one of the first marked out for destruction. Death or imprisonment awaiting him, he only saved himself by stealing out of the city unattended, and in disguise. His wife and eight children saw him depart, not knowing whether it would be God's pleasure that they should ever meet again. Travelling for some distance through the obscurest paths that could be found, he at length reached Constance, where he was joined by his family. But the joy of this meeting was speedily at an end. Constance was besieged the day after their arrival; and it was almost by a miracle that they escaped destruction. After many difficulties and sorrows, they made their way to Basil, and thence to Bern, at which place he was received with the respect due to his piety and merits. The council appointed him to the professorship of theology; and so useful and acceptable were his exertions in this office, that, though twice invited to England by Cranmer, with many offers of high emolument, he preferred ending his days in the asylum thus provided for him in Switzerland.*

Musculus exercised considerable influence as professor of divinity at Bern. His opinions were respected as those of a man of experience and tried worth. The party, therefore, which sought for nothing more than a union with the Lutherans, though at the expense of some portion of doctrine, had great reason to dread his entering the field. But this he did more as a faithful minister of the gospel than as a polemic, his hatred of controversy prohibiting his hazarding a breach of brotherly union; while he equally dreaded any combination that should be formed without a simple regard to purity of faith. "Think not, my Bucer," he says, "think not for a moment of such a thing. Your name is known in all the churches; and if you should swerve, in the smallest matter from the right, yea, if you should seem in any way whatever to afford the least countenance to this notion, it is incredible how much injury you would do to the cause of Christ. You are human, my dearest brother; and, besides the ordinary temptations of life,

* Melchior. Adami Vit., p. 176.

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you are exposed to some which render it necessary that you should be especially circumspect, watching continually in the fear of the Lord. I would rather die than see a doubt thrown upon your candour by any scandal; and this not only on your own account, dear as you are to me, but still more on that of the gospel, the defaming of which to good men is death itself. Ah, Bucer! avoid the Lutherans, whose persecuting and obstinately angry spirit is so conspicuously displayed."*

This letter was followed by another, in which Musculus says, that Luther seemed imprudently to meditate nothing less than to carry his point by continually augmenting his authority. Bullinger was equally dissatisfied with the proceedings of Bucer, and plainly said, "I much prefer the sentiments of Melancthon in this matter to yours; for they are simple and easy to be comprehended; but yours are intricate and obscure. There is hope of our soon coming to some arrangement, unless you destroy it all by your too great anxiety."† But the efforts made by Bucer, on the one side, and the stricter Zuinglians, on the other, might, at present, have been spared. Luther's opinions remained throughout essentially unchanged; and, as late as the year 1543, the controversy was continued with all the sternness of a newly-commenced debate. Melancthon lamented this, as he had ever done any appearance of an angry and unconciliating spirit among his fellow-reformers. "If I could weep," says he, "as many tears as there are drops of water in the Danube, I could not silence the grief which my heart feels at the renewal of the strife about the sacrament."‡ Calvin was not without his share of the accusations which Luther so plentifully poured out against his antagonists in this controversy. But he had too much force of mind to be irritated, like inferior disputants, by such attacks. He was contented with defending his own cause, and was known repeatedly to say, "However Luther should abuse me, and call me devil, I would, on my side,

* Sculteti Annales, Dec. Sec., p. 397.
† Hottinger, t. III., p. 735. ‡ Ibid, t. III., p. 758.

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still acknowledge him as a most excellent servant of God."

The part which Bucer took in this controversy was strictly that of a mediator; and he exercised his office with a patience and devotion which, whatever might be thought of his opinions, merited the praise of the contending parties.* Desirous of peace, he doubtless studied the subject in dispute with an anxious regard to such of its characteristics as offered the best arguments for union. These he believed existed in the liberty, which might be properly granted to each party, of interpreting the words of Christ according to its own views, without pronouncing those of the other to be positively wrong. The Lutherans did not deny the bread and wine to be present after consecration. By the Swiss divines Christ was acknowledged to be present, and to be received with the bread and wine by believing hearts. The stricter interpretation of each other's meaning he seems to have considered might be left to that inward consciousness of the various shades of doctrine which may exist in the minds of good men, but ought not to be made a motive to controversy and separation. At the meeting which took place in 1536 at Wittemberg, Bucer, and the divines assembled with him, formally declared the unscriptural character of transubstantiation and the local presence of Christ in the bread; but to this it was added, that, sacramentally, the bread was Christ's body, and that when the bread was

* The division between the leaders of the Reformation has been attributed to doubts which might have been removed. Zuingle and Œcolampadius, it is said, suspected Luther of the doctrine of impanation, the error, that is, of locally inclosing the body of Christ in the bread, and of thereby deifying, as it were, the elements. Luther, on the other hand, supposed Zuingle and Œcolampadius to have taken away from the sacrament all its authority and force; to have left only the symbols and the naked memorial; to have denied that the faithful and holy were fed in the Lord's Supper by the flesh and blood of Christ, and that he was present at the feast. The Landgrave of Hesse, the senate of Strasburg, with the pastors of its church, and theologians, Capito, Hedio, Bucer and Zellius, took the middle way. The contention lasted from the year 1524 to 1574, when Bucer discovered, from the second confession of Luther, that there was error on both sides, and that concord might be restored, if any one would undertake to quiet and conciliate the minds of the disputants.—Hospiniani Hist. Sacrament., pars ii., p. 225.

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given, the body was truly present and bestowed. To render this acknowledgment still more definite, it was further stated, that the body of Christ was presented even to the unworthy, and that they verily received it, but to their condemnation, it being partaken of without repentance and faith. The opinions thus set forth were evidently so expressed as to render it difficult for reformers, holding in common the main doctrines of evangelical religion, to refuse their assent. It was, however, well understood by the divines present that their office was one of great delicacy. They therefore signed the abstract presented to them with an express reservation in favour of the authority of their churches. This was wisely done; for the affair was no sooner brought before the heads of the sacramentarian party, than they demanded of Bucer a clear explication of his sentiments, which, as we have seen, they regarded as left indefinite and obscure for the express purpose of pleasing the Lutherans. There was, moreover, something startling to their ears in the acknowledgment that the unworthy received the body of Christ. This seemed little less than to confess the real presence. Bucer was therefore violently assailed on this subject; but he replied, that he neither contradicted the sentiments of his brethren, nor used a language unauthorized by scripture. It would have filled their churches with horror, he said, had the notion been broached that the impious and unbelieving could receive Christ's body. All he affirmed was, that, in the same sense in which St. Paul said it, the unworthy partake of the body and blood of Christ, for they receive it to their condemnation, yet are they not altogether without faith. The representatives of the Swiss Church, it is added, were positively asked, at Wittemberg, whether they renounced their original view of the sacrament. To this they as distinctly answered, and in the presence of Luther, that they had neither the power nor the will to do so.

But little real good resulted from the superficial tranquillity attending the efforts of Bucer; and in the

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year 1546 the two parties were again in arms. Amsdorf and Osiander* are chiefly accused of being the cause of the renewal of the dispute. No such heavy charge, however, ought, it is probable, to be brought against them. Luther's own feelings were too little disposed to change to admit of the notion that the sentiments of others were required to excite his hostility. The last two years of his life were more or less disturbed by this perplexing and injurious controversy. As he drew near his end, he is supposed to have regarded the angry character of his quarrel with the Swiss in no favourable light. If tradition is to be believed, he now earnestly desired the reconciliation of the disputants; exhorted Melancthon to use his influence for that purpose, and even spoke well of the work of Calvin on the Lord's Supper. However this may be, the rancour of the dispute was not at all diminished after his death, but continued in full force, to the great injury of religion and of the peace and unity of the Church.

The affairs of the Church of Geneva might be considered in a prosperous state, when compared with the situation of the people but a few years before. This favourable change had its beginning with the energetic measures resorted to by Calvin immediately on his return from Strasburg. But the execution of his plans demanded a courage and resolution which enter into the composition of only the loftiest characters. The institution of the consistory, at the head of which he placed himself, was regarded by many as an infraction of the liberty looked for as the best fruit of the Reformation; but, without some such body, the city must speedily have fallen into a worse state than that from which it was relieved. Another arrangement, which was equally necessary to the improvement of the people, was as little likely to escape the censure of those

* "Osiandro homine superbo, monstrosique ingenii sopitam flammam fodiente."—Hospiniani Hist. Sacrament., pars ii., p. 300. Luther had spoken of Zuingle with much disrespect; and the Church at Zurich deemed itself bound to defend his memory with affectionate and filial zeal. This beginning of the renewed dispute took place in 1539. Luther gave no reply; not, it is said, from any fault in the address from Zurich, but because he could not justify himself.

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who chiefly desired the overthrow of the Roman Catholic priesthood, that they might be left to the enjoyment of a licentious freedom. Calvin, finding that the public teaching of the gospel prevailed but to a small extent among the mass of the people, established a rule which made it imperative on the clergy to visit, at regular periods, the various families belonging to their district. In these visits they were not only to give instructions as to the principles of religion, but to require a declaration of the views and opinions of those to whom they spoke. By these means he brought the population generally into a state of excellent discipline, and the public exercise of his functions became proportionably valued, as the rules which he had instituted were faithfully observed.

But while thus far Calvin might be justified in his proceedings, as well by the necessity of the case, as by the most obvious theories of ecclesiastical government, or any system of real pastoral superintendence, it must not be concealed, that he went further in the exercise of his authority than could be authorized without justifying, at the same time, the tyranny of the Church of Rome, or any other church that has called to its aid the sword of the magistrate. There can be little doubt that Calvin was mainly in the right, and his adversaries in the wrong; but the question in such cases is, not whether the party in power be engaged in the defence of truth and virtue, but what means can or cannot be lawfully employed in their support. If the former were the proper question, it might as well never be asked; for they who had the pre-eminence in authority would not fail to employ so easy a justification of their tyranny as the simple assertion of having truth and every other virtue on their side. This has in fact been the common custom with persecutors in all ages. But let us not insist on the question of right or wrong in the object sought. Let us give up all that an infallible judge would demand, and confess that he has truth on his side. The grave inquiry still remains untouched: May he effect his purpose by any means whatever; or is he not bound to restrict himself to the use of means

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which are in strict agreement with the spirit of equity and virtue? If this be answered in the affirmative, we proceed another step, and get into the examination of the methods, both ordinary and extraordinary, by which opinions are to be established, and opposing minds brought to acknowledge their truth. The result of such an inquiry will be different in different ages. It is not easy, even for the mightiest intellects, to contend singly against the combined or concentrated forces of millions of minds and hearts, all acting against them, in so far as mere natural impulses or vulgar prejudices are opposed to the deductions of independent thought. Hence the character of the age will be found to exercise some degree of influence on the purest understandings; and into whatever errors they fall, a portion of them ought to be attributed to this source. But surely we are not to ascribe the whole to such a cause; for, if we were, there is scarcely a sin committed, either by nations or individuals, that might not thus find a very sufficient apology. It is the proper test of greatness in a noble mind, that it asserts for itself a superiority to vulgar prejudices and errors. But how is this claim belied if it yields in those very points on which it was of most consequence that it should reason with strictness and independence! Calvin, Cranmer, and other lights of the Reformation, were guilty of violating, in several instances, those very laws, the worth of which formed the proper foundation of their own proceedings. A defence has often been set up for them, derived from what is known to have been the spirit of the age in which they lived. Persecution for the sake of religion, or opinions supposed to be inseparably connected with religion, was a common and justified practice. Had they pretended to no new light; had they not claimed of the dominant church a new and extraordinary liberty, they might with perfect propriety have continued to support the hierarchy in this monstrous principle. But their proceedings were in defiance of the maxim that the belief of the most powerful must be the belief of the inferior. They had virtually claimed the right of private judgment to an unlimited extent. The right of

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persecution was thereby utterly denied; and if they revived the principle which originally, as it was supposed, gave the power, because it was needful in some temporary exigency, they rendered themselves guilty thereby of a heavy offence against consistency, and the advantages of a clear understanding and knowledge of the truth. Prejudice might claim indulgence in their case, as well as in that of other men, because they were equally exposed to the influence of the times, and the long-gathered forces of ancient precedents; but they had more strength to contend with these antagonist powers; and, instead of attempting any apology for them, it is far better for the interests of the truth, as well as more consistent with justice, to confess, that in the employment of mere force to carry their purpose, they assumed a right over their fellow-creatures which God never gave to the ministers of his gospel. The question might therefore be easily determined, had we only to do with the right of ecclesiastics, and with men claiming credit for being strictly obedient to the spirit of Christ's religion. But it is closely mixed up with another consideration; for churchmen have in most instances thrown off the responsibility of punishing heretics according to their supposed deserts, and have left them to the power of the civil magistrate. We are thus thrown back upon the inquiry, whether errors in opinion or belief are to be opposed by the sword; and then, whether the punishment be inflicted by the independent authority and judgment of the state, or in its immediate connection with the Church. If the latter be the case, then the ministers of religion are just as guilty of violating the bounds of their calling as if they executed the vengeance themselves; and if the whole weight of responsibility be made to rest on the state, then the office of the Church has been usurped; its treatment of offenders is pronounced inadequate, and Christ himself is virtually accused of not having provided the kingdom of heaven with means proper for its defence.

These observations have been suggested by the record of Calvin's proceedings against some of his oppo-

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nents at Geneva. The case of Servetus is well known.* Little doubt can be entertained of the grievous nature of his errors, or of the determination with which he supported them. He was a native of Arragon, and appears to have possessed from early youth an active and inquisitive mind. At the age of nineteen he removed to Toulouse, induced, it is supposed, by his desire to learn the principles of the reformed religion. Here he pursued his studies with a zeal and success which made him master, not only of the Scriptures in their original languages, but of most of the fathers, and the more celebrated schoolmen. That his opinions were formed with a fearless disregard of the authority of the Church, as he had known it in Spain, would create little surprise; but he equally set at nought the sage and enlightened men who had begun the work of reform, by leading the world back to the study of primitive doctrine. After spending some years at Toulouse, he repaired to Basil, that he might consult with Œcolampadius on the subject of his new opinions respecting the Trinity. The amiable reformer listened to him with equal surprise and sorrow, reasoned with him from Scripture and the writings of the antient fathers, and opposed to his pride of reason and love of novelty the calm, sedate wisdom of a chastened and experienced mind. But his determination was taken. He had formed too strong a notion of the power of his genius for investigating truth to allow of a pause in the career for which he stood prepared. "There is one only Almighty God," said he, "who through His Word and Holy Spirit created and established all things. He spake, and they were made; He commanded, and they stood fast. There is also one only Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, begotten through the eternal Word of the Father, and by Him appointed to be our Redeemer.

* A full and very interesting account is given of Servetus in a work by Mosheim, in German, entitled, "Anderweitiger Versuch einer vollständigen und unpartheyischen Ketsergeschichte." He had long formed the design, he says, of writing the life of Servetus, "that unfortunate Spaniard, whose extraordinary zeal for restoring Christianity, and purifying it from all human corruptions, was expiated in the fire."

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At his intercession the Holy Spirit is imparted to us through the ministry of angels; and as we praise, bless, and honour the glory of God and His might, so are we baptized in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, to the praise of God's unspeakable righteousness, through which He has so mercifully given Himself for our salvation."

But it was in the explanation which Servetus gave of the different parts of his system that his errors were made most conspicuous. He acknowledged that he did not use the terms which appeared to express an orthodox belief in the same sense as the Church; and when the firm opposition of the divines at Basil left him no hope of making them his auxiliaries in the attempt to overturn the whole system of catholic faith, he forsook that enlightened and favoured community, to seek another field for the exercise of his acute but dangerous talents. Having rejected the advice of Œcolampadius, he felt himself free to pursue the course which both pride and conscience, forming that union which is far less rare than the world suspects, prompted him to take. The publication of a work on the doctrine of the Trinity, committed him to posterity as the author of one of those errors against which the Church of Christ has always deemed itself most bound to contend. But a few months had elapsed after the appearance of the book, when Bucer, a man never disposed to take a strong view of opinions, pronounced publicly, that its author deserved to endure the most shameful death that could be inflicted. Servetus returned to Basil after the publication of his work, and Œcolampadius had some further interviews with the author of the new heresy. Either the experience of the mature reformer, or the secret misgivings of Servetus, gave no slight importance to this meeting. The latter is said to have acknowledged that his opinions were imperfectly expressed, and the former was seemingly convinced, by his apologies and reasonings, that he had really retracted the most obnoxious portions of his theory. This hope was further confirmed by the appearance of the Dialogues on the Trinity, and

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the Treatise on the Kingdom of Christ, which were published soon after the return of Servetus to France. In these works he openly declared, that his previous reasonings were those of a boy speaking to boys, and he therefore claimed the privilege of retracting what he had formerly said. This, however, was not to be regarded as a renunciation of his doctrines; he wished what he had stated to be unsaid, not because he believed it false, but because it had been badly argued.

A journey into Italy contributed to increase the feelings of Servetus in favour of his own notions. The Pope filled him with new disgust at the pomps and luxury of the dominant Church. These, he persuaded himself, were the proper fruits of error, or were, at least, well calculated to foster the evils, the seeds of which, according to him, had been sown before the beginning of the fourth century. Full of anxiety to reform both the belief and the customs of the Christian world, he hastened to disseminate his principles among the Venetians, and some other of the Italian states. The credulity of superstition is often succeeded by the credulity of sophistry. Minds weakened by long inactivity, when suddenly roused to inquiry, are glad to find themselves surrounded by the new and the strange.* Novelty is to them the test of truth. Opposed in one respect to what deceived them, they suppose it must be so in all other particulars, and that, as being new it is contrary to what is old, so in being new it must equally be contrary to what is false. Servetus, it is said, made many converts in Italy; but he was not sufficiently contented with his prospects to induce him to remain in that country, and in 1534 he returned to France. Having taken up his residence at Lyons, he published there a new edition of the Geo-

* The author of the "Geschichte des Mich. Serveto," concludes, from the number of persons soon after found in Italy who denied the Trinity, that Servetus had employed himself in the manner stated. His hatred of the pontifical ceremonies is given in his own words:—"Hisce oculis nos vidimus, eum (Papam) super principum cervices cum pompa gestari, cruces sua manu mirando et in mediis plateis a cuncto populo genibus flexis adorari: usque adeo ut qui pedes seu calceos ipsius osculari possent, se supra alios existimarent felices: indulgentias plurimas esse lucratas dicerent, et inferni pœnas ad multos annos ob id esse remissas. O bestiam bestiarum sceleratissimam, meretricem impudentissimam!"—B. i., p. 55, sec. 17.

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graphy of Ptolomæus;* and soon after commenced his work on the Restoration of Christianity. About this time also he endeavoured to draw Calvin into a correspondence with him on the principal points of his theory; and having travelled to Paris, he there formed an acquaintance with the most learned men of the university, and devoted himself to the study of medicine, in the practice of which he proposed to pass the rest of his life.

As a proof both of the presumption and the ability which characterized this unfortunate man, it is recorded, that he had been engaged in his new pursuit scarcely a year when he began to teach the science, and to advance so many novel views, that he embroiled himself with most of the more advanced members of the profession. It is said, however, that in one of the treatises which he wrote, there are clear indications of his having detected the circulation of the blood. Few persons indeed can read his history without lamenting, that his really extraordinary ability was not sufficiently occupied with the pursuits of science to draw him off from the speculations which produced so fatal a result.

The dispute with the faculty at Paris obliged him in the end to leave that city, and he repaired to Charlieu, in the neighbourhood of Lyons. There he remained till the year 1540, when he repaired to Vienne, and published his work on the Restoration of Christianity. This treatise, instead of exhibiting the cold, cautious reasoning which common opinion would naturally ascribe to the productions of Servetus, exhibits the strongest proofs of a mind scarcely less disposed to fanaticism than to doubt. He states that he had been led to undertake the work by an inward, divine admonition, and that he was one of the angels, spoken of by St. John in the Revelations, who had been appointed to strive against the dragon. But zealous and bold as he was in the design of this work, and assuming as he did the high character

* On the title-page of this work Servetus styled himself Michael Villanovanus, from the place of his birth. In his previous publications he used the name of Reves, formed by the transposition of the letters in his family name. His edition of Ptolomæus was highly esteemed. Geschichte, p. 62.

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of a heavenly appointed teacher, he had the precaution to conceal his name; and the authorship of the book remained during some years a profound secret. If any suspicion was entertained concerning his orthodoxy, the acquaintance which he had the good fortune to enjoy with the archbishop of the diocese afforded him sufficient protection. His sentiments were therefore silently diffused among several provinces of France, Italy and Switzerland, with less risk to the author than was the case with most of those who proclaimed a purer doctrine. But Servetus must not be accused of cowardice or meanness. He availed himself of the shield of secresy as long as it could be employed without involving the recantation of his opinions. He did not hope that this would be possible much longer, but looked forward continually to a violent death.*

At length the report was circulated that the Spanish physician, who had obtained such general affection by his amiable manners and skill in his profession, was the author of the books which had done so much harm, and given rise to so many dark surmises. This statement had its rise with some Frenchman settled at Geneva, who conveyed the information in a letter addressed to his friend at Lyons. Fear and surprise, and in many minds regret, united to render the discovery a source of no slight excitement in the city of Vienne. The clergy and more zealous of the magistrates insisted that the heretic should be immediately apprehended. This was done, and Servetus had no other prospect than that of being burnt to death. Immured in a dungeon, he awaited this fearful completion of his own prophecy, and does not appear to have had any idea of endeavouring to save himself by retractation. But such was the esteem with which he had inspired many powerful individuals, that means were found to secure his escape from prison. Immediately on getting free, he set out on the road to Naples, where he purposed resuming the practice of his profession. The magistrates of Vienne, indignant, or affecting to be so, at the loss of the intended sacrifice, satisfied their own resentment and that of the priests by

* Geschichte des Mich. Serveto, B. 1., sec. 32, p. 101.

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burning the effigy of Servetus, and numerous copies of his books, in the public market-place.

The information which led to the apprehension of Servetus was, for a time, ascribed to Calvin. Subsequent events gave rise to this report, and seemed, in the eyes of many, to authorize its circulation. But Calvin proved, to the satisfaction of unprejudiced men, that it was contrary to common reason to suppose that, hated as he was by the Roman Catholic clergy, they would have held a communication with him on the subject of heresy. It is not, however, in his defence against the accusation that we are interested, but rather in the acknowledgment with which it is accompanied.* "I deny the assertion," he says, "because it comes from my enemies, and is false; but I openly declare that I should not have been ashamed to take the course imputed to me, for it would have been in the way of duty; and I should have rejoiced had I been instrumental in preventing Servetus, three years back, from continuing to diffuse his pestilential errors." Calvin, indeed, was not of a character which could be fairly charged with any tincture of the dispositions that lead to the concealment of the truth. He made war against what he believed to be false doctrine wherever it existed; but he did it openly, and by the declared employment of every means of which he could make himself master. This unflinching resolution to use power in whatever degree he could assume it, or of whatever kind it might be, when it served the purposes of truth, was the very cause of that offence against the spirit of the Christian Church of which he may justly be accused. Servetus, on his way to Naples, was to pass by Geneva. Of this Calvin received early notice, and his determination was taken. The unfortunate physician was obliged to remain concealed some weeks in the city; an opportunity of setting forward

* Mosheim observes, "That it matters little whether or not Calvin was immediately concerned in the apprehension of Servetus at Vienne. He did all in his power to secure his subsequent condemnation. William Tric, through whom the secret was made known, had been for some time resident at Geneva when the work of Servetus was first circulated in that city, and he might suppose, it is said, that he would be doing God service, if he could lead to the apprehension of the godless author of the work complained of."—Anderweitiger Versuch, t. II., Geschichte, B. II., sec. 2, p. 144.

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was anxiously looked for, but numerous dangers and difficulties attended his flight, and he had only effected the necessary preparations for the continuance of his journey when, at the instigation of Calvin, he was apprehended and thrown into prison.

By the laws of Geneva, the accuser was obliged to take upon himself the proof of the offender's guilt, and, entering the prison with him, to await the judgment of the magistrates.* Calvin employed his own amanuensis to perform this task, and furnished him with a paper containing thirty-eight articles, applying to the several errors of which Servetus was accused. It was not only on the subject of the Trinity that the opinions of the prisoner were so fatally at war with those of the Church at large; he was equally in error on the great question respecting infant baptism, the nature of many of the prophecies, and on other points, which the clear eye and stern judgment of Calvin could so easily detect, and gather together into one dark mass of palpable heresy. The greatest efforts, it is said, were made on the part of the latter to induce Servetus to recant. No charity can be more elevated than that which employs itself in endeavours to bring a mind, involved in darkness and error, into the blessed light of the gospel of truth. But we can hardly give the praise of this divine mercy to those, who, if they cannot convert a soul in so many days, or weeks, or induce the understanding which has unfortunately, but tenaciously, seized hold of error, to relax its grasp, and suddenly cast it aside,—we cannot honour such men as ministers of light and mercy, who, seeing that they are unable to work a miracle on the mind and heart of those with whom they converse, resolve, when the sun has set and risen so many times more, to burn the body, and set the soul free to wander in eternal night. Calvin's endeavour to persuade Servetus to acknowledge, that the whole structure of his opinions was founded on the grossest contradiction of God's Word, was, without doubt, sincere and conscientious. But nothing can be more certain

* Anderweitiger Versuch, t. II., Geschichte, B. II., sec. 6, p. 153. But for this it is supposed, Calvin would have taken the whole burden upon himself.

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than this, that it had little to do with charity, or that, if it had, the grand and masculine understanding of Calvin had, for the moment, forgotten some of the most essential properties of human nature.

Trite as may seem the reasoning which teaches us to separate the consideration of a hateful error from that of the persons who hold it, and to refrain from the bitterness of individual judgment, lest the prejudices of our feelings might take the place which ought to be reserved as the very throne of truth, the moral thereby taught is of the highest value, and may fairly claim to be considered as the preliminary to every decision of importance. It may however be urged, that, whatever is advanced on this subject, the common movements of human nature are against it; and that, if the subject be carefully examined, this decision is correct. The more we examine the feelings of mankind, the more numerous are the proofs that the sentiments of a man are regarded as the man himself; that they are considered as demanding more or less attention, according as they occupy a higher or lower place in his mind; and that, when once it is seen that they are really and intrinsically seated in his soul, the judgment passed upon their truth or falsehood is equivalent to bestowing a crown of glory on the individual, or condemning him to the punishment which wilful crime both merits and encounters. The question here is, not what ought to be done, could we see human nature in its elements, but what is done in all the cases from which it is just that the comparison should be instituted. Nothing can be easier than to condemn some error committed for want of presence of mind, while we are sitting in quiet, and are put to no trial of self-command. And in the same manner it is easy to detect errors in principle, where they trench upon no feelings of our own; but in whatever instance the fault is committed, the man, and not the reasoning, is condemned; and while the tongue proclaims the laws of charity and mercy, the heart plays the persecutor, and shrinks, if it have no power to punish, with equal fear and disgust, from the antagonist of its opinions. Sad as is the proof which this offers of the

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weakness of human nature, it is the best apology that can be offered for some of those otherwise excellent men who have fallen into the crime of persecution; for if they had not unconsciously committed the error of putting the person in place of the opinion, or of considering them both one, they could never have thought of yielding the man to the flames because the doctrines which he held called for the most vigorous confutation.

Servetus, in his dungeon, and hourly in expectation of death, was but badly prepared to support his opinions against his able and powerful adversary; but wretched as was his condition, neither the persuasions nor reasonings of his persecutors, nor the prospect of immediate suffering, could induce him to recant. He had simply to answer for his opinions. No accusation could be brought against him that might lessen the reputation which he had acquired for purity and virtue. With a strong tinge of enthusiasm, and many of the traits which accompany the exercise of an ardent imagination, he appears to have fallen into none of those debasing follies which so frequently pollute the character of men of this disposition. His religious errors even could not be charged on a voluntary corruption of mind or heart. Not a single object offered itself as a bribe to the defence of error in the case of Servetus. He might, it is true, have wished to become the head of a party; but if this ever entered his mind, he certainly could not have subsequently regarded it as worthy of any great attention; for the writings which he put forth in the most vigorous period of his life were published without his name, and the credit or notoriety attending authorship was studiously avoided, as opening the path to destruction. A certain feeling of pride and satisfaction in the diffusing of opinions peculiarly his own was the only element, it is probable, which combined with those desires of enlightening the world, which early animated the heart of Servetus. The latter, if certainly pure, is the highest aim of the most elevated minds; and the sentiment which fills the heart with satisfaction, when it seems to have secured the means of establishing its own favourite notions in the world, is so common, so intimately associated with

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almost every movement of our nature, that it would be injustice in the mass of mankind to regard it with severity, or ascribe it to any undue degree of selfishness. Servetus, therefore, had properly no offence to answer for but that which concerned his religious errors. He had not even taken any corrupt measures to secure their circulation. His sole crime was a false belief, and the desire to make it known to others as the original revelation of heaven. Calvin even acknowledged as much as this, and, like an honest enemy, went fairly to the point in question.* Not being able to overcome the resolution of Servetus to suffer death rather than pronounce his opinions to be changed, he prepared to meet him at the bar of judgment. With the influence which he possessed, and his well-known wishes on the subject, the fate of the accused might be considered as already determined. The trial of Servetus was indeed as mere a mockery as that of any of the martyrs who suffered by the sentence of a Romish consistory. In vain did he appeal to the gospel against that assumption of authority over the consciences of men which had led to such fatal violations of charity and justice. Sentence was unpityingly passed upon him. Calvin's own associates shuddered at the prospect of seeing the pile lighted by a champion of the Reformation and religious freedom. But no persuasions on the part of his friends—no compunctious visitings of feeling or Christian compassion moved the stern spirit of this remarkable man. He pressed for the condemnation of the accused as a matter of duty; and Servetus as firmly persisting in the declaration of an unchanged belief, he was conducted, in the midst of a people proud of their late emancipation, rejoicing in religious freedom as the greatest of blessings, to die the most painful of deaths because his creed was wrong, and he could not discover that it was so. Calvin appears to have had some dislike to the punishment of burning alive; and when the

* "Obstrepent licet vel malevoli vel maledici homines, ego libenter fateor ac præ me fero (quia secundum urbis leges aliter cum homine jure agi non poterat) ex me prodiisse accusatorem: nec inficior meo consilio dictatam esse formulam qua patefieret aliquis in causam ingressus."—Calvin. Refut. Error. Servet., p. 695.

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sentence was passed, exerted himself to have the kind of death changed. Whether this late mercy deserved praise, or obtained it, at the hands of his contemporaries we know not; but the charity is surely of a doubtful kind, which, having allowed some helpless victim to fall into the grasp of an inexorable tyrant, then begins to employ itself in the task, which must have been hopeless from the first, of changing the intentions of the judge.* It signified, indeed, but little to the unfortunate prisoner what might be determined on this matter. From the first it was plainly seen that the more important question of his guilt or innocence, of life or death, had been already answered. His proper accuser was the young man, Fontaine, whom Calvin had appointed for the purpose. Strictly speaking, the cause must have depended on the power of the accuser to establish his statements. When Fontaine, therefore, failed in clearly proving his point, the prisoner ought surely to have had the benefit, and to have been mercifully allowed, after so fearful a warning, to gain time for sober and undisturbed reflection. But instead of granting Servetus the advantage which he seemed to derive from the first day's examination, his judges sent for Calvin himself, and the other pastors of Geneva, to support by their united force the failing memory of Fontaine. The meeting between Calvin and Servetus must have been painful to every spectator who retained any feeling of what was due either to justice or propriety.† They were both men of fiery dispositions, and while the one justified his anger till it acquired the dark features of personal hatred, and overpowered by its vehemence the more generous qualities of zeal, the other gave way to all the emotions which might be supposed to inspire a man who stood face to face with his deadly enemy and betrayer.‡

As little was to be expected from an examination directed by the principles which governed the parties

* "The old law against heretics was still in full force, and by this they were condemned to the flames."—Mosheim, p. 154.

† "Tergiversatus est initio. Itaque vocati sumus. Proterve mihi convitiatus est, non secus ac si haberet sibi obnoxium. Ego, ut dignus erat, eum excepi." Calvin. Epist. 134, p. 289.

‡ Geschichte des Mich. Servet., p. 157.

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engaged in this miserable affair, so no other result followed from the persevering labours of the judges, but clearer displays of dogmatic pride on the part of Servetus, and of that stern assumption of a right to condemn, on the side of Calvin, which has left the only stain on that great man's character to be discovered by the severest observer. On the renewal of the examination, Servetus clearly saw that no indulgence would be rendered him, and that it would be necessary to employ whatever means existed in a fertile invention and ready eloquence to lessen the perils with which he was surrounded. On returning to the prison, therefore, he requested that some of his books might be restored to him, and that he might be furnished with pens and ink. This desire was liberally fulfilled. Calvin himself offered the use of any works in his own library; and, if Servetus could have secured the acquittal which he sought by reference to supposed authorities, or the ingenious employment of many arguments in favour of liberty of opinion, he would not have failed to deliver himself from the fate which awaited him.

Before he was again called into the presence of his judges, he sent them a petition, in which he represented, in strong and clear language, the error of which the civil magistrate was guilty, who undertook to deliver judgment on a matter which simply concerned religious opinion. It was plain, he argued, that the primitive Church was content to decide such matters by its own spiritual rule, and that this mode of proceeding continued even to the time of Constantine, when, in the great controversy respecting Arianism, it was generally decided that the Church itself, and not the civil power, was to determine the punishment due to heresy. But to this argument, drawn from considerations founded on the nature of the Christian dispensation, and the ordinary proceedings of the early Church, he added others, derived from facts in his own life and undisputed conduct. None of his enemies could show that he had, at any time, endeavoured to disturb the faith of others by the arts of popular address. In Switzerland, the only persons with whom he had conversed

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on the subject of the Trinity were Œcolampadius and one or two other men of profound erudition. The whole of his works were written in a style and language which rendered it unjust to accuse him of wishing to disturb the peace of the Church at large. In France, he had not even spoken with a single person on the subject; and to this it was to be added, that he had entered Geneva as a stranger, had remained in obscurity during his sojourn there, had interfered with no party, entered into no controversy, nor endeavoured by any means whatever to make either his name or his opinions known. On these considerations he founded his demand to be set free; to be delivered from the further persecution of those who were inspired by incurable hate against his person and writings; and to be allowed to pursue in quiet the course which had brought him, not by his will, but by necessity, to Geneva.

A few days intervened, and Servetus was again called before his judges. The arguments which he had advanced appear, in these days, to have possessed considerable force. But they were without strength in the eyes of those who had assumed to themselves the right of deciding upon his fate. The president announced to the assembled lawyers and citizens, that the prisoner had appealed from their judgment to the sentiments of the primitive Church, but that he did not regard his petition as worthy of notice, and therefore desired them to proceed with the examination, in the full understanding that the accused was richly deserving of death. With a boldness which might almost be called effrontery, he denied that the primitive Church was not accustomed to employ force in the establishment of evangelical doctrine, or that Constantine had referred to a spiritual judicature that which was now to be decided by the secular power.

In the previous examination, Servetus had manifested some degree of fear, and had condescended to entreat his judges not to press the affair against him. On the present occasion he seemed to have recovered a certain portion of resolution; and when asked whether he

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would recant, he replied that he would do nothing which in anywise militated against the interests of truth. This did him no service in the eyes of his judges; but not satisfied with making an open profession of his creed, he poured out a vehement oration against Calvin, and applied to him whatever epithets might be proper to describe "a descendant of Simon the magician, or the most sanguinary of the persecutors of the Church of Christ." This procedure sealed his doom. Calvin was too great and good a man to seek for the destruction of an enemy from the acknowledged feeling of personal resentment. But the heart of even a good and wise man is not proof against all the sophistries of its weak nature. Calvin himself, therefore, may possibly have allowed the influence of his hatred to the errors of Servetus to have been augmented by his anger at the injustice of his personal prejudice. It was not, however, now in Calvin's own power to determine the conduct of the judges. They admired and venerated him, and the sentiments thence arising were not within the control of the man by whom they were inspired. The trial was continued with increasing demonstrations of enmity against the accused. Questions were put to him respecting his former life and manners, which it could never have come within the right of a tribunal like that of Geneva to ask; efforts were made at every step to draw him into some confession which might involve fresh matter for accusation. The cruelty and injustice of such treatment are equally manifest; but it only served to make it more evident that Servetus was free from any of those odious moral offences which his judges would gladly have laid to his charge as a justification of their severity.

When it was found that the issue of these numerous examinations could be no other than the conviction of the prisoner, letters were sent to the several cantons, desiring their judgment upon the case, and on the punishment to be inflicted. The clergy of Zurich replied, "that they left the matter entirely to the prudence of the Geneva magistrates; but, they added, that, in regard to so obstinate and dangerous a heretic, the heaviest

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penalty would be the most befitting."* Schaffhausen joined with Zurich in this expression of opinion, and added, that as a fool should be answered according to his folly, so it would be well if no further trouble were taken to convince Servetus of his error. The preachers of Basil spoke with equal hatred of the heresies of Servetus, but in a different tone respecting the conduct which they wished the council of Geneva to pursue. "We earnestly exhort you," said they, "to employ your utmost efforts in curing the author of these scandals, and in removing the scandals themselves. But if the pest be indeed incurable, then it is your duty, according to the power given by God, to use coercion, that no further injury may be done to the Church of Christ."† The clergy of Bern wrote with a still stronger tendency to caution. "We pray the Lord," it is said, "that he may give you the spirit of counsel, and of a sound mind, so that you may be able to avert this disease, as well from other churches as your own; and at the same time, that you may do nothing which may seem inconsistent with the character of a Christian magistracy." A somewhat sterner feeling appeared in the answer of the senators of Bern; and Calvin, it is conjectured, measured his approval of the replies by the degree of ardour with which they inspired the judges.‡

The answers thus received still left the council at Geneva doubtful as to the manner in which Servetus should be treated. Enough was said to authorize them in the belief, that while some would approve of the most terrible inflictions of the law, the others would not venture to say that a gentler punishment would have sufficed. But to condemn a man to the flames was still felt to be an exercise of power which required the most mature consideration. The several authorities of the city were therefore called together to aid the judges in their deliberations. Some difference of

* Calvin highly approved of this sentiment: Tigurini omnium vehementissimi. Nam et impietatum atrocitas graviter ab illis exprimitur, et hortantur senatum nostrum ad severitatem. Epist. ad Farel. 161.

† Calvin. Epist. et Respon. n. 160, p. 302.

‡ Geschichte des Mich. Serveto. p. 214.

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opinion prevailed among the citizens on the subject. Those of milder temper advised that the prisoner should be simply banished. Others, a little more under the influence of Calvin's own feelings, advised that he should be subjected to perpetual imprisonment. Above these rose the more numerous party, who declared that he ought to be punished with death; while another class, going still farther, prayed that as much of pain and ignominy might attend his crime as could be comprehended in such a punishment, and that he might be consumed in the flames. Amadeus Perrin, a distinguished member of the council, and a great enemy of Calvin, with some others, remained away on this occasion, saying that they were free from the blood which was about to be shed. When it was known, however, that sentence of death would certainly be passed upon the prisoner, Perrin entered the assembly and protested against the proceeding, appealing to the great council of the state, and offering such other objections as might seem best calculated to throw a doubt upon its authority or its justice. But the attempt was made in vain. The sentence was passed, and the next day Servetus was to be carried to the stake. Calvin's wish to change the kind of death proved as unavailing as it was deficient in the marks of true benevolence. But there were those who even blamed him for this late show of mercy; and among them was Farel himself, who, when Calvin expressed his desire that Servetus might be put to death by some other method than that of burning, reproved him for his too gentle thoughts, and gave new strength to his heart by reminding him of the atrocity of the criminal's offence.*

It now became the duty of the magistrates to communicate to the accused the decision of the judges. A messenger was accordingly sent to the prison. Servetus had never expected to enjoy much favour at the

* Quod pœnæ atrocitatem leniri cupis, facis amici officium in inimicissimum tibi hominem. Sed te, quæso, ita geras, ne temere quivis audeat nova inferre in publicum dogmata, et tamdiu omnia turbare impune, ut iste fecit. Calvin himself had said, "Spero capitale saltem fore judicum: pœnæ vero atrocitatem remitti cupio."—Calvini. Epist. et Respons., n. 134, p. 290; n. 155, p. 292.

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hands of his enemies; but though he looked for some punishment that would be far beyond what his own feelings taught him to acknowledge as his desert, he seems to have been prevented from harbouring the gloomy apprehension of death, as well by his own sense of justice as by the assurances of the few who ventured to espouse his cause. When tidings were brought him, therefore, that he was to die the following day, such was his horror and astonishment that he stood silent as one thunderstruck. Sensibility returning, the agony of his heart at first expressed itself in a deep sigh, and then in loud and frightful shrieks, and most vehement prayers for grace and mercy. But he expended his supplications in vain, and was left to bear as he best might the horrors of his situation. The magistrates considered that the few hours which he had to live ought not to pass without an endeavour to lead his thoughts to a more profitable study of Christian doctrine than that which he had hitherto pursued. But the feelings which he could hardly fail to entertain towards his persecutors rendered it almost an indecency to offer by them the means of spiritual consolation. They regarded it, therefore, as a happy circumstance that Farel arrived in Geneva at this juncture. Their former pastor was easily persuaded by Calvin to undertake the duty of preparing the condemned for death. He proceeded without delay to his cell, and by seven in the morning of the fatal day entered into a solemn conference with the afflicted prisoner. He found him somewhat recovered, and sufficiently composed to listen to his observations on the great mystery, error in respect to which had brought him into such awful peril. But though Farel employed every argument that his learning or experience could suggest, he strove in vain to shake the convictions of the broken-hearted man. Servetus replied, that there was still much wanting to lessen his confidence in the system accused as heretical. To some of the observations of Farel he made no answer; but observing a profound silence, seemed to retire into himself, either that he might the more earnestly consult his conscience or strengthen his resolution.

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When Farel found that there was little prospect of drawing Servetus from the strong hold of his deplorable errors, he pressed him upon the article of charity. "If he wished to die as a Christian," he said, "he must endeavour to make his peace with those whom he had so grievously abused." He then named Calvin, and asked Servetus if he would receive him, and become reconciled to him? The prisoner answered, with all readiness, that he should rejoice in performing this duty. Calvin was accordingly sent for; but he answered, that he dare not come without the permission of the magistrates. It could create little surprise if it were plainly shown that the great reformer did indeed shrink from the proposed meeting. The course he had taken was doubtless suggested by a most keen sense of duty. Private feeling will have a certain degree of influence over the purest spirits; but it will be resisted so long as any portion of the love of truth remains. Calvin suffered himself to be deceived, first by the old associations of his youth, by the general conduct of the church in which he had been educated, and then by the impulses of his own heart, at all times disposed to strong action, but more especially sensitive after many years of excessive labour and excitement. He was now, however, called upon to try his feelings and opinions by one of the severest tests to which a good and great man can have them submitted, by that, namely, of the conscience excited to activity by the view of deep suffering, arising from the decisions to which it has itself arrived. But if Calvin really shrunk from the interview, and wished to shield himself under the pretence that he could not visit the accused without the order of the judges, this failed to effect its purpose. The permission was immediately given; and it is said, that the council expressed some surprise that Calvin had thought it necessary to delay his visit on the grounds alleged.* Calvin, therefore, proceeded to the prison; and the unfortunate Servetus, who owed whatever he was about to suffer to his angry zeal, received him with a mild, subdued and benignant aspect. On being directed by

* Geschichte des Mich. Servet.

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Farel to ask Calvin's pardon for the rash words which he had spoken against him, he did not refuse, but manifested by his whole conduct the greatest readiness to prove a humble and penitent disposition. This, however, did not extend to matters of belief. Calvin began to reason with him on the doctrines advocated in his works. Of these Servetus would say nothing which could encourage the hope that he had been taught by suffering to view them in a different light. His powerful antagonist, therefore, ceased from any further endeavours; and declaring that he had no alternative but to leave him to the condemnation due to heretics, he hastened from the prison.

The hour appointed for the execution was now fast approaching. Servetus, according to the custom of the city, was conducted from his dungeon to the hall occupied by the council. There, his sentence having been formally read, a staff was broken over his head, in token of his condemnation to death. At this awful moment, the resolution which had for a time supported his spirits entirely forsook him. He fell upon his knees, and with a loud voice implored the judges to have mercy on him, and, if they would not spare his life, at least to allow him to die by the sword rather than in the flames. Farel, who still continued near him, spoke of his offences and crimes, and exhorted him to confess his guilt, as the surest means of obtaining that mercy which he sought. "I know not what you mean by my guilt," he replied, "but I pray God to have mercy on my sinful enemies." Farel expressed anger at the mode in which this was said, and threatened to leave him if he repeated such sentiments. Servetus immediately sunk into silence, which was broken only by his frequently ejaculating some cry to Heaven for mercy. Farel even was moved by the deep humility of the prisoner at this period, and addressed the judges in favour of a milder mode of execution. But the sentence, he was answered, could not be now altered, and the prisoner was ordered forthwith to the usual place of suffering. This was a little hill, called Champel, a short distance from the city, and where for some time

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past it had been usual to execute criminals. On his way to this spot, Servetus continually exclaimed, "O God! deliver my soul! O Jesus! thou Son of the eternal God, have mercy on me!" Farel, as he heard these words fall from his lips, ceased not to exhort him to change the sentence, and address Jesus not merely as the Son of the eternal God, but as the eternal Son of God. These persuasions, however, failed, as they had done before, and the melancholy train proceeded to the appointed place. When Servetus caught a sight of the preparations made for consuming him, all his terrors returned, and he fell with his face upon the earth in an agony of grief. As he lay prostrate on the ground, Farel addressed the people, and bade them take warning by the said example before them, to beware of heresy. "You here see," said he, "how great the power of Satan is when he has once got possession of our minds. This miserable being, now about to suffer in the flames, is a man eminent for learning, and thought, perhaps, that what he was doing deserved no blame. But the devil has overcome him, and now retains him in his grasp."

While Farel was thus speaking, Servetus rose from the ground, and the former desired him to address the people. But this seemed nothing more than a fresh invitation to recant; and the sufferer only replied with a sigh, and renewed prayers to God for pity and forgiveness. All things being now ready for the last fearful scene of this tragedy, Servetus was placed upon a low seat, fixed against a pile; to this seat he was fastened by means of chains, while his neck was bound to the pile by a thick rope. Around were collected several heaps of wood, and to complete the arrangements, a crown woven of straw and branches of laurel, and sprinkled with brimstone, was placed upon his head. At his side hung the book so fatal to its author, and which afforded the only plea on which, before God or men, this frightful proceeding was to be justified.

The signal was now given for light to be put to the heaps of fuel surrounding the pile. As soon as they began to burn they were driven closer to the victim;

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and the flames at length reached his garments. The heart of the sufferer again failed him. With the first sensation of the horrible agony which awaited him he poured from his breast such terrible cries, that even the rude multitude which surrounded the pile shrunk horror-stricken from the sound. But in the midst of all this wretchedness, and while natural fear, and the dread of pain seemed to exercise their full influence on the sufferer, he uttered no word that could be interpreted as a sign of his wishing to recant. As the wood of which the heaps were composed was new and moist, it burnt but slowly; and the period of agony was thus considerably lengthened. This afforded time for the spectators to observe the whole conduct of the miserable Servetus. Every now and then his voice was heard distinctly above the murmurs of the crowd, and the crackling of the flames. The only words which reached the ears of the bystanders at these times were, "Lord, have mercy upon me! Help me, O Jesus! Son of the eternal God!" The sufferings of the dying man pressed at last so deeply on the hearts of the more compassionate of the multitude, that they could no longer repress their feelings. Seizing, therefore, some portions of the wood which seemed better prepared for burning quickly, they heaped it around the victim, and he was speedily consumed to ashes.

Such was the end of Servetus, a man whose opinions rendered him dangerous to the Church of Christ, but with whom that Church might have contended with its own spiritual weapons far more effectually than either the Romanists of Vienne, or the magistrates of Geneva. His apprehension and death were signal proofs of the opposition which prevailed among Calvin and his associates to some of the most important principles of the Reformation. It was not against the corruption of doctrine only that the spirit in which it had its beginning strove. The tyranny of the dominant church; its crusades and auto-da-fés; its universal war against the rights of conscience; its stern prohibition of inquiry; against these the spirit of the Reformation rose as indignantly as it did against the false doctrines which had

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been fostered in the darkness that these evils generated. Calvin seemed wholly to forget that so long as burning men for their errors prevailed, whenever power was gained by those who chose to call error truth, it must then become the turn of the most orthodox to perish; and that there could be no cure for this terrible chance, but the full and clear demonstration that false opinion, unconnected with any conduct calculated to disturb the peace and well-being of society, ought not to be made the subject of corporeal punishment; and that while it should to be opposed by all the arms which wisdom, spiritual zeal, or even the severest discipline of the Church could furnish, the further punishment of the offender, the means of silencing his clamours, must be left to God. Calvin's character, both as a man and a minister of the gospel, was exposed to the severest censure on account of this wretched affair. His only defence could be that he acted from no other motives than those of a strict and conscientious adherence to what he believed to be the line of duty. The amount of his offence was greatly enlarged by the advantages which he enjoyed for resisting the evils of a persecuting spirit; and by his responsibility as a reformer to avoid committing, in his own cause, the crimes acknowledged to be odious when perpetrated by the Church of Rome.

We have somewhat anticipated the general progress of events to bring the narrative of this occurrence to a close. It serves to illustrate the true state of affairs at Geneva, the power which its clergy possessed, and the manner in which it was occasionally exercised. For the same purpose we will briefly allude to another instance of the successful assertion of authority on the part of Calvin, but happily not attended with such gloomy consequences. Castalio, celebrated for his Latin version of the Scriptures, had taken up his residence at Geneva, and though educated as a lawyer, devoted himself with great assiduity to the cultivation of divinity. He had taught at Basil, and became suspected of wanting a proper feeling for the higher doctrines of the Church. The opposition of his views to those of Calvin

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soon became known in Geneva, and excited general attention. It was against the doctrine of Predestination that he chiefly strove; and as this formed one of the strongest features of Calvin's theology, few subjects could have been fixed on more likely to rouse his anger and suspicion. A twofold method was therefore to be taken in this case, and Calvin was well able to effect his purpose whether simply as a controversialist, or a lawyer. Castalio had to encounter, in the dispute to which he exposed himself, as acute a spirit and as richly a stored mind as the Church of that period knew. We are not to be surprised, therefore, when we find it recorded, that he could not support his argument when exposed to the full force of his opponent's matured understanding. But he was not to escape with no other punishment than that attending the vexation of a defeat. Calvin appealed to the council; brought the whole strength of the magistracy as well as the consistory against him, and Castalio was banished the city, having good reason to rejoice that no worse fate awaited him.* Blanchet was another of those who fell under the ban of Calvin; and, like Castalio, expiated his error by banishment. The same fate attended Bolzec; and it became at length as dangerous to maintain a doctrine at Geneva which differed from those of Calvin, as it would have been at Rome to question the infallibility of the Pope.

But it was not at Geneva only that force was employed to put down heresy. The history of the Ana-

* Hottinger, t. III., p. 749. Castalio was at one time accused of being an Anabaptist. Beza took up the controversy against him with a zeal which must have been highly acceptable to his associate. Speaking of the translator, he says: "Itaque quam esset in hac civitate, ut omnes narrant, nullus dies præteribat quin prodigiosum quoddam in medicum proferret: adeo ut de ipso sanorum librorum canone non modo ambigeret, sed etiam pertinacissimè et arrogantissimè diceret. Celebat præterea jam tum in animo peculiares quasdam opiniones, quas frivolis quibusdam argutiis, suo quodam more, clanculum confirmabat. Inter quas hæc etiam erat, quod lege Israelis politica sentiebat omnes gentes teneri: ideoque gravissime in eos invehebatur tum qui capitali pœna in fures animadvertunt, ac si præstaret antiquas servitutes in usum revocari, tum etiam qui facinorosorum cadavera paterentur in patibulis manere." In alluding to his translation, he asserts that he knew neither the languages out of which he was making the version, nor that in which he was writing.—Theodori Bezæ Respons. ad Defens. Sebastiani Castellionis, 1563, p. 1-66.

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baptists presents many a sad proof of the fierce intolerance of the Swiss cantons against that unhappy people. Even over the members of their own community they assumed the right to exercise a power which almost entirely confounded the proper discipline of religion with the infliction of punishment for offences against the laws. Anxious must every faithful servant of God be to secure the grand objects of religious union, and to see them established and perpetuated by provisions which shall place them far beyond the reach of licentiousness and caprice. But so dangerous are experiments made by the force of laws, and their pains and penalties, that the churchman, deeply and intensely imbued with true church principles, will be the last of all men to give up to the civil magistrate that which it is the Church's office, in its own way, and by its own means, to execute. The turbulence which would interrupt it in this duty, and prevent its exercising that fair authority which belongs to its functions; the malicious perversion of religious freedom to the purposes of sedition; the open blasphemy which despises the honour of God's name, or the sanctity of his house; these, and other matters of the same nature, demand the interference of the laws; and, when wisely administered, the power of the state is in such cases as important to the happiness and freedom of the people as it can be in any conceivable purpose for which it is allowed to act. But it is never the interest of religion to provoke resistance, and compel men to believe that its ordinances are directed against their personal freedom. The Council of Bern, therefore, by the edict passed in the year 1543, could have added little, we fear, to the amount of piety in the canton. According to this law, it was ordained that all gentlemen who maliciously absented themselves from sermons should be seized and imprisoned; and that if they did not repent, after undergoing a proper degree of chastisement, they should be sent into banishment.* By another decree, persons found guilty of sending their children to a Roman Catholic school were to be fined ten louis d'ors; and the neglect of sending them to be

* Ruchat. Hist. de la Reform. de la Suisse, t. VI., liv. xvi., p. 533.

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catechised was to be punished by imprisonment for the first three offences, and banishment for the fourth.

Such was the general state of affairs in Switzerland at the period to which we have brought down the history of the Church in other countries. The more attentively events are contemplated, the more do we discover the goodness of God, the weakness and perversity of man. Left to themselves, the wisest and best of our race would have speedily injured, and perhaps wholly destroyed, the very edifice, the foundations of which were laid in the blood of their brethren, and which they would have willingly cemented with their own. But it was not left to man either to originate, or determine the fate of, those principles which gave birth to the Reformation. Genius, temper, caprice, the fortitude of the strong, the virtues of the holy, the very weaknesses of some, and the selfishness or pride of others, were either made instruments which God wielded, as He chose, in actual combat, or were so constrained and blended with other elements, that they served to quicken the progress of events, and secure the attainment of the object finally contemplated. The want of consistency, or the appearance of dispositions in the great actors of these times, which served so little the cause they had in hand, but confirms the truth which would teach us to refer all important changes in the condition of mankind, when productive of permanent benefit, to the unconquerable might of God. But in the greater part of the events above described, we see enough to overbalance whatever there be of discouragement in the rest. Though arbitrary judgments were still passed, and men were condemned who might fairly plead, that the conduct of their accusers had taught them to use the liberty now accounted a crime, the power no longer existed in the mass, by which such proceedings had been favoured of old, or which could afford the smallest prospect of their being many more times repeated with impunity. The persecution, moreover, which did occasionally invade and harrow up some fair province of the Reformed Church, was free from the most odious characteristics of that of earlier days. If punishments were

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now inflicted in the name of religion, it was honestly done for the sake of religion. Formerly religion had the least possible share in the contemplated advantages. The power of the Church for the Church's own sake; the supremacy of its ministers for the sake of their dignities and revenues, were the things to be defended; and thus, in most cases, the triumph over free opinion was not on the side of truth, but on that only of the system which might best serve to perpetuate tyranny and superstition. As the Reformed Churches, moreover, continued their onward course, the influence of the light which shone within their sanctuaries; the intrinsic truth of the principles by which they were governed; the promises to be realized in favour of the gospel, became more strongly manifested; and they, in the end, emancipated themselves from the errors which had deprived them, in the first instance, of their complete reward.

CHAP. III.

INSTITUTION OF THE ORDER OF JESUITS.

WHILE the opposition to the Church of Rome was every day gathering fresh strength, a formidable support was about to be provided for that Church, in the institution of a new religious order. Francis Loyola, its founder, was the descendant of an old and noble Spanish family.* At an early age he evinced great vivacity of feeling, and a ready ability in acquiring all the accomplishments becoming his rank and fortune. Trained up to the use of arms, he hastened to distinguish himself by displays of the most ardent military enthusiasm; but his career in this direction was destined to be short. At the siege of Pampeluna he received so severe a wound in the leg, that when conveyed

* Historia Societatis Jesu. Auc. Orlandino, Societatis ejusdem Sacerdote, p. 2; Petri Ribadeneiræ Vita Ign. Loiolæ, p. 19 Ign. Loiolæ Vita, Auc. J. Pet. Maffeio, p. 5.

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from the field there was little hope of his life. The agony which he endured from the fractured limb was excessive; but he still retained, it is said, all his feelings of pride and vanity; and his distress was not so great on account of the pain which he suffered, as at the prospect of rising from his bed with a distorted figure. To prevent this dreaded evil, he directed his medical attendants to saw off the part of the bone which, from the bad setting of the limb, protruded itself beyond the rest. The operation was equally dangerous and painful, but he endured it without complaining, and was well satisfied at any prospect of losing but little of his good personal appearance. His resolution, however, had not availed to keep off the natural effect of such a trial of strength. He fell into a sickness which again threatened his life; and the irksome confinement to which this obliged him to submit was almost as terrible as the illness itself. As soon as he began to recover strength, he requested his friends to supply him with some of those works of romance with which he had been accustomed to amuse himself in the camp. But his father's castle, to which he had been removed, was not furnished with books of this kind. The only works at hand were a Life of Christ, and a volume of legends respecting the early saints. Little as these would have formerly been relished, they now speedily engrossed his attention. He traced with avidity the wonderful course through which the holy men of old had been led. He discovered in their history and character more of heroism than in those of the most renowned warriors; and, taught to feel the dignity of holiness, his thoughts gradually fixed themselves upon its mysterious source and origin. It would have been equally a blessing to Loyola, and those who came under his influence, had he been led at this juncture to the examination of the pure and simple truths of evangelical religion. But the only guide which he had to the fountains of holiness conducted him through wildernesses full of fantastic shapes, and mocking the wanderer with shows of running streams, instead of supplying him from the wells of salvation.

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But doubtful as were the sources out of which Ignatius drew his first convictions, his mind did certainly undergo at this time a very important change. He learnt to look inward, and find delight in the contemplation of divine mysteries. The satisfaction which attended these exercises was deep and penetrating. It occupied his heart with a peace hitherto unknown; and as he continued to pray and meditate, the whole structure of his thoughts declared that a power was working within his mind which would soon subdue it entirely to its control. There was so much of error in his notions, so much of enthusiasm in his feelings, that it is difficult to trace the signs of a true penitent in the early state of this extraordinary man. Yet if the record of his conversion be faithfully given, it cannot be denied, that he exhibited many of those proofs of a spiritual change, which, in other cases, are generally accounted sufficient to mark the escape of a soul from a state of earthliness to one of grace and holiness. The sins and vanities of which he had been guilty were now regarded with mingled disgust and horror. He formed the most solemn resolutions to walk for the future in a path, the direct opposite of that which he had before trodden. The glory of God, the welfare of his Church, were to be the grand objects of pursuit; and these good purposes were to be carried into effect through the heavenly helps which it was hoped might be gained by a life of prayer and mortification. It is melancholy to contrast with these testimonies to the sincerity of his incipient holiness, the false views which filled his mind on subjects so necessary to his further progress.* As he lay upon his bed, visions of peace and useful-

* Vix induerat hominem novum, cùm ipsa quoque Dei mater parvulum Jesum in ulnis gestans, eximia specie ac fulgore nitens, suam illi dum vigilat presentiam longo spatio declaravit, tanto exultantis animi gaudio, et commutatione voluntatis, ut a cunctis hujus vitæ jucunditatibus incredibili repentè fastidio cœperit abhorrere, ac nominatur insigne perfectæ castimoniæ cupiditatem conceperit. Quo tam eximio in ducem nostrum beneficio clementissima Dei mater tanto ante præmonere nos voluit hujus se minimæ Societatis patronam apud Filium suum carissimum semper fore: sibique secundium Deum oportere admirabilem ejus ortum, secundosque progressus adscribi: nec aliunde cœlestia nobis speranda præsidia, nisi ex ipsa cujus nos Deus tutelæ voluerit esse commisso.—Orlandini Hist., p. 4. sec. 12; Ribaden. Vit. Ign. Loi., p. 25.

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ness arose to comfort him in the affliction occasioned by the recollection of past sins. One night, when most strongly impressed with the desire of succeeding in the work of holiness, he sprung from his bed, and falling prostrate at the foot of the couch, poured forth the most tender and passionate prayers for help. But these supplications were addressed not to Christ, but to an image of the Virgin Mary, and it was through her mediation that he sought the grace which was to make him a faithful servant of the Saviour. He had not prayed long, it is said, when the ground, and the bed against which he was leaning, gave signs, by its violent shaking, that his prayers were heard, or that the devil, enraged at his success, was now for ever departing.

The first care of Ignatius, on partially recovering his strength, was to perform some work of penance. To this end he proposed making a pilgrimage to Mount Serrat. Thither, accordingly, he journeyed as quickly as his yet feeble frame would allow him. Arrived at his place of destination, he made a vow of perpetual celibacy, and dedicating himself to the service of the mother of Jesus, performed an initiatory service in close imitation of the practices which the orders of chivalry impose on the candidate for admission into their ranks. Having laid aside his sword, and given the mule on which he rode to the monastery where he was entertained, and his money to the poor, he went and changed his rich apparel for a coat of sackcloth, girded by a rope. One foot he left bare, the other was protected only because of the injury it had received. Suspended by his side was a vessel for water, which, with a staff to support his steps, completed his equipment.

Thus prepared for his new species of warfare, he spent the whole of the night preceding the festival of the Conception, before the altar of the Virgin, sometimes standing, at others kneeling, but in continual prayer for resolution to pursue his designs. With the first dawn of day he left the monastery, in order that he might escape the inquiries of its inmates respecting his present purposes. Having reached another religious

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house at some distance, he there commenced a further course of mortification. His hair and beard were allowed to remain untouched. The nails of his fingers and toes were uncut. What little sleep he allowed himself was taken on the bare ground. Thrice daily he submitted himself to scourging. His fasting was carried to such an extent that days passed without his tasting any food, and then it consisted but of bread and water. What time he could spare from his own devotions was given to the instruction of the poor; and his extraordinary perseverance in this course of painful discipline procured for him the reverence of the whole neighbourhood. But the wretched state of weakness to which he was reduced soon began to make itself apparent in the doubts and perplexities which almost overwhelmed his mind. He was the subject of fearful temptations, and, bowed to the earth by the united force of sickness and anxiety, he became liable to fits of fainting, during which life seemed wholly to have left him. On rousing himself from one of his painful paroxysms of sorrow, he recollected that there were examples in the history of the saints of old, which ought to teach him that he might fast any length of time, by due attention to prayer. This urged him to make a fresh experiment, and he now continued without eating from the beginning to the end of the week. How much longer he would have carried the effort it is difficult to say; but his confessor compelled him, as a matter of duty and obedience, to take some nourishment, and his mind gradually recovered its former serenity.

It may well be supposed that with nothing to give vigour to the intellect, having the least possible acquaintance with Christian doctrine, as exhibited in Scripture, but exposed, on the other hand, to all the impulses of feverish feeling, Ignatius must have been sustained at this period by any other power than that of reason. His followers consistently attributed the strength with which he battled against every infirmity and want to the force of heavenly grace; but it is impossible to hear it recounted, that at one time he beheld the Virgin with the infant Jesus in her arms, at another was permitted

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to see visibly represented the progress of creation, and, on a third occasion, the awful mystery of the Trinity itself,* without discovering that at least one large portion of the strength which he possessed was derived immediately from the workings of a very disordered fancy.

In one of those seasons of meditation, which with Loyola generally ended in some heavenly vision, he conceived himself called upon by Jesus Christ to spend his time no longer in the mere care of his own soul, but to determine upon some course of action which might lead to the conversion of others. A new train of ideas, a new line of duty, was thus opened to him. He immediately resolved on going to Jerusalem, and there attempting the conversion of the infidel Saracens. His influence over the minds of some was already sufficiently great to induce several young men to desire to accompany him in his hazardous pilgrimage. But he firmly resisted their persuasions. He was resolved to have no other companions, it is said, but faith, hope and charity. The same determination led him to reject every offer of money, and when some was forced upon him, he contrived either to disperse it among the poor, or otherwise get rid of the useless burden.

Thus alone and pennyless, with only a pilgrim's staff and scrip, he set forward on his journey. The perils of the way were numerous, and every mile must have been traversed with difficulty by a man worn

* Mysteria fidei tanquam subducto velo oculis quodammodo intuetur: rerum creatarum æstimationem justam ac pretium intelligit: quem ad finem genita hæc universitas sit: quamobrem, et quatenus rebus creatis utendum sit, cognoscit: in quo virtutis sita vis: qua prius in re posteriusve, plùs aut minùs elaborandum: tota denique evangelicæ sanctitatis perfectio, ac disciplinæ interioris subtilitas eodem in lumine menti ejus ostenditur, adeò clarè, ut inde alter planè recederet, aliisque jam luminibus seque, et res ceteras contemplaretur: aliis lancibus boni malique præstantiam ponderaret, p. 6. In gradibus templi Dominicanorum, quod Mauresæ est, horarias matris Virginis preces aliquando percurrens, mente in sublimem sensim contemplationem, ad augustissimum adorandæ Trinitatis mysterium quadam sub rerum corporearum imagine contuendum abreptus, incomprehensi ejus mysterii notitias inenarrabiles percepit, tanto cum gaudio ut modum lacrymis eo die adhibere ne in publica quidem supplicatione, et conspectu multitudinis posset: tanta verò ubertate lucis divinæ mente recepta, ut homo literarum rudis, de sacrosanctis illis et inaccessis Dei unius ac trini splendoribus volumen scribere ordiretur.—Orland., p. 7, sec. 27. Ribadeneira, c. vii. p. 41.

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and emaciated as was Loyola at this period. But no obstacles were too great to be overcome by the motives which urged him onward. He arrived safe within the borders of the Holy Land. The first step which he set upon the consecrated soil brought to his heart a thousand feelings of awe and thankfulness. He fell upon his face, poured out his soul in tears and supplications, and could only be raised by force.

With the ardour which had led him forth still glowing undiminished, he immediately made known to the principal of the Franciscan monastery at Jerusalem the grand object of his coming. But a long acquaintance with the state of affairs in Palestine, and a prudent determination to allow of no experiment which might end in the murder of every Christian in the East, the good prior used all the arts of persuasion to induce Ignatius to desist from his intentions. Persuasion, however, proved utterly vain, and the prior was at last obliged to employ his authority, and threaten the enthusiastic teacher with the heaviest censures of the Church. This method prevailed, and Ignatius, after a short stay in Palestine, returned to Spain.

It now became necessary that he should determine on some other course for fulfilling the design of his calling. After much reflection, in which it is not impossible he might be aided by the suggestions of both friends and enemies, he discovered that it would be unwise to commence any great undertaking in the world without some acquaintance with literature and the sciences. Full of the conviction that his present ignorance must be overcome, before he could begin the course to which he instinctively felt that he was destined, he proceeded to Barcelona, and there placed himself under one of the best masters of the place. He at once began the study of Latin; and exercising the most rigid self-denial, and employing whatever patience and power of attention he possessed, it might have been supposed that he would make advances proportioned to the vigour of his general character. But, notwithstanding all his exertions, he could scarcely commit to memory the simplest rules of grammar. Two years were already expended in this

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painful exercise, and he had now arrived at the age of thirty-six. Another man would have ceased in despair after such a proof, as it might have been supposed, of incapacity. But Ignatius ascribed it, not to his want of apprehension, or any other kind of inability, but to the malice of Satan, who dreaded his pursuit of qualifications which might render him still more powerful as an adversary. Returning, therefore, to the severest species of self-mortification, and entreating the master to spare him no rebukes or chastisements, he found his mind gradually acquiring the faculty of retention, and enabling him to pass beyond the rudiments to some understanding of the language itself.

Sufficiently encouraged by his increasing acquisitions to think still higher attainments possible, he next repaired to the university of Alcala, with the view of studying the sciences and philosophy. During all this time he subsisted on charity. Every attempt made by his friends to afford him a regular maintenance, was stoutly resisted. It would have deprived him of one of the most efficient means for keeping his heart humble, had he been relieved from the necessity of taking alms; and when admiration of his piety led those who watched his course to give more than he needed for the purchase of his coarse food, he gladly distributed the rest among the poor that loved to listen to his exhortations. His conduct soon attracted the notice of the inquisitors. The nature of his addresses was not like that of the sermons preached by the priests and monks. He called his hearers to another course of life, and the thrilling enthusiasm with which he spoke, secured him a sympathy that seemed to place the multitude at his entire command. It would have been unsafe, in the eyes of the holy office, to leave such a man to pursue his work unquestioned. He was accordingly apprehended, and placed before one of the officers of that terrible tribunal. Ignatius, however, yielded from the first the most profound reverence to the laws of the Church. His examination, finally, served to bring his loyalty and devotion into stronger light; but not to save him from a second imprisonment. This annoyance was not agreeable even

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to one who, in other respects, rejoiced to suffer pain, and inflict on himself the weightiest burdens. After making converts of four men, corresponding in disposition to himself, and of a widow and her daughter,* he left Alcala, and repaired to Paris, still desiring to augment his acquaintance with human literature. But, with all his efforts, he made so slow a progress, that on arriving at Paris, he could only venture to enter a class composed of young boys, and found sufficient employment in following them through the repetition of the elements. These are trifling circumstances in the lives of ordinary men; but every point is of value which serves to illustrate the character of those who have exercised an important influence on the relations of society, or the general state of the Church.†

The difficulties of grammatical learning were, at length, it appears, overcome; and Ignatius regarded himself as sufficiently prepared to enter one of the classes engaged in the study of the higher branches. He laboured with assiduity; but anxious as he was to attain a certain degree of learning, he was still more so to effect the purpose which he had formed of converting men to the service of God, so far as he himself could understand in what that service should consist. The persons who beheld his extraordinary piety, could not fail to admire the entire command which he exercised over his natural desires and feelings. But among those who studied with him, there were doubtless some who

* Ignatius learnt from the circumstances attending the conversion of these ladies to dread female enthusiasm. They had exposed themselves to the danger of a pilgrimage, in spite of his remonstrances, and their conduct was one of the causes of his apprehension. When, after some years, he was followed to Rome by three of his female converts, he could not altogether resist their entreaties to be admitted into an order under his superintendence. The experiment was tried, but after a few days he gave it up in disgust. "Mirum enim est, trium muliercularum gubernatio quantum illi molestiæ, et occupationis paucis diebus attulerit."—Orlandini Hist. Maffei Vita, p. 231. This led him to stipulate with the Pope that he should have nothing whatever to do with the care of women.

† During the earlier part of his residence in Paris he suffered the most absolute misery, and was nearly exhausted by being obliged to walk from the hospital which sheltered him to the academy. This induced him at last to travel into Belgium, where he obtained some relief from the Spanish merchants. For the same purpose he also visited England —Orlandini Hist. Soc. Jes., p. 13; Ribadeneira, Vit. Ig. Loi., lib. II., p. 84; Maffei, p. 89.

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not only saw much to admire in the depth of his devotion, but could also discover, in the character of his mind, many of the elements of true originality and greatness. With those who have not yet been taught to value every thing according to the estimation of the world, this is sufficient to inspire the most sincere admiration; and such a feeling, aided by circumstances, and a little more of fervour than enters into the composition of ordinary men, will generally bind to a teacher, like Ignatius, numerous active and self-devoted disciples. His poverty and humiliation, his painful conflicts with himself, and the unceasing labours which he bore to effect first one and then another purpose of charity, had a grandeur and attractiveness in them, which gathered strength every day. The young men who listened to his discourse became persuaded that it would be for their good to follow his example, and reduce themselves at once to a poverty like his own. But such a resolution could not be taken without exciting considerable anxiety on the part of their friends. Ignatius became an object of suspicion. The heads of the academy viewed him as a dangerous innovator; and he was subjected to every species of annoyance and disgrace. This proved a serious impediment to the progress of his studies, and he allowed himself to be convinced that he must modify his conduct, unless he chose to resign the hope of attaining to the honours of scholarship. He therefore began to exert his mind with more determination than hitherto: ceased from attempting to increase the number of his converts; and after a vigorous struggle with his natural indisposition for learning, and overcoming the numerous difficulties thrown in his way by the enmity which he had provoked, he acquired the degree of master of arts.*

* Ignatius's own experience, it is probable, gave rise to many of the rules which formed part of the Constitutions of the society. Those which relate to the regulation of study were not invented by a novice. Thus it is said: "Let the scholars seriously and constantly resolve to apply their thoughts to study, and assure themselves that they can do nothing more acceptable to God in the colleges than if, with the intention above expressed, they give themselves diligently to learning; and even though they never call into exercise what they have learned, let them persuade themselves that to have undertaken the labours of study, as is fitting, out of mere obedience and

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Having accomplished so much of his original design, he next turned his thoughts to the systematic study of theology. The prejudices against him were also daily vanishing; and he at length saw himself surrounded by some few men who had all the qualities calculated to attach them to his cause. Of these the first was Peter Le Fevre, or Faber, in sacred orders; and the next, the celebrated Francis Xavier, both men of accomplished minds, born of good families, and ardent in the pursuit of distinction. His next converts were Lainez and Salmeron, Spaniards. Bobadilla, another native of Spain, and Rodriguez, a Portuguese nobleman, soon after joined the infant society; and they speedily became cemented together by a friendship and a unity of will as astonishing in themselves as any of the wonders performed by their successors. Each had begun life with his own peculiar views. Their characters had as many points of difference as usually exist among men brought up under various influences. Till almost the moment of their union, they were engaged, some in the study of one science, some in that of another, and each had destined himself for a career, the end of which was to be worldly distinction and wealth. Francis Xavier afforded a remarkable instance of the power which Ignatius exercised over the minds of his companions. This young man had exhibited, through life, the most violent self-will, pride

charity, is a work of great merit in the sight of the supreme and divine Majesty. Let all impediments which distract the thoughts from study, whether of devotion and mortification, which are undertaken exorbitantly or without due order, or of cares and occupations which arise at home from domestic duties, or abroad in conferences, confessions, and other duties towards our neighbours, so far, at least, as they may, be declined in the Lord. For it is praiseworthy that these employments be deferred, however pious, until their studies be completed, that hereby they may afterwards render themselves more useful to others with that learning which they may have acquired. And let all these things be done with greater zeal for God's service and glory. Order must be observed in study, that they lay a solid foundation in the Latin language, sooner than in the liberal arts; and in these before they attend to scholastic theology; and in this before positive theology. The Sacred Scriptures may be taken in hand either at the same time or afterwards. Those languages in which they were written or translated, may be learned sooner or later, as the superior, in the variety of concurring causes, and the difference of persons, may think best: so the order of time will be left to his prudence. But if our scholars apply to the study of languages, among other objects to which their attention may be directed, let this be one, namely, to defend the version sanctioned by the Church."—The Constitutions of the Soc. of Jesus, p. 33: Rivington, 1838.

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and ambition. For some time he was at the head of those who openly proclaimed that Ignatius was a madman, or a base dissembler. His acquaintance with the Aristotelian philosophy had acquired him considerable distinction, and so well suited the petulant activity of his intellect, that he might have successfully aspired to the highest rank among the scholars of the age. The first signs of his change aroused, moreover, the whole of his powerful friends, and Ignatius was threatened with a renewal of the persecutions which he had endured on a former occasion. But obstacles, whether of a natural character, or arising from circumstances, yielded to the force of Loyola's persuasions and example. Both in these early conversions, and in those of later days, that strange power was manifested which must be more or less present to every founder of a party. It continued to show its influence till not a thought remained unsubdued; and Ignatius had thereby so well prepared his followers for the execution of his designs, that however solemn the oath with which he wished to bind them, one still more comprehensive, if possible, would have been readily taken.

After some months of close intercourse, and the careful examination of every matter connected with their future course, the six associates, accompanied by their leader, proceeded to the most solitary spot they could find in the environs of Paris. This was Montmartre; and in the little church of the Virgin, they received the Eucharist at the hands of Le Fevre, and then, calling upon heaven to record their oath, bound themselves to a life of chastity, holiness, and perpetual labour in the cause of the gospel and of charity. Thus was laid the foundation of the society destined to perform so conspicuous a part in the affairs of the world. Throughout the progress which it made from year to year, the day* on which the vow was taken in the lonely little church on Montmartre, continued to be observed as the nativity of the order, and as claiming a renewal of promises and thanksgivings from the many hearts who owed their glory to the prayers then offered up. Ignatius had

* It was the Feast of the Assumption, in the year 1534.

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now accomplished an important portion of his plan. He saw himself at the head of a band, which, however small, was well prepared to fight its way through a host of enemies. One spirit, one wish animated the whole, and it was the wisdom of the chief to watch, with ceaseless care, every indication of character which might enable him to preserve this concord undisturbed. The intercourse of the brethren with each other was conducted on a principle well calculated to aid this object. While discourse on heavenly mysteries, and the inculcation of the severest rules of discipline, occupied a large share of their time, some also was given to the enjoyment of more general conversation; and the human heart is always too well pleased with the contemplation of novelty, and various and exciting adventure, for the followers of Loyola not to have listened with delight, though mingling it with strange sentiments of awe, to the voice of their leader as he carried them in imagination to the conversion of hosts of infidels and the subjugation of kingdoms.

The steady advance of this little band of missionaries towards that point of enthusiasm at which it becomes impossible to pause, was evinced by signs readily intelligible to the quick glance of Ignatius. A day was fixed on for their departure from Paris. Jerusalem rose before their eyes. Every hour that passed began now to press heavily on their consciences, and seemed to reproach them as wanting in zeal and resolution. At length the morning came when they were to resign their last hold on worldly rank and possessions.* The sacrifice

* The sentiments which appear in the proceedings of these first followers of Loyola appear in all the rules which were subsequently laid down in the Constitutions. "Let all most diligently guard the gates of their senses, of their eyes especially, their ears, their tongue, from all intemperance or vice, and maintain themselves in peace and true internal humility, and manifest it in silence, when silence is to be observed: when speaking is allowed, in circumspection and edification of words, in modesty of features, in decorum and gravity of gait and attitude, without any token of impatience or pride; in endeavouring and desiring to give the preference to others in every thing; considering all, in their own minds, as their superiors, and externally paying that honour and reverence which every condition demands, with religious simplicity and moderation; that so it may come to pass, that mutually regarding one another, they may grow in devotion, and praise God our Lord, whom each one should endeavour to recognize in another, as in his image.... That they may know the value of *holy poverty*, let all be

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was gladly made, and they set forward in their rude garb, and with no other wealth but a few books of devotion, to perform the journey which had been represented to them as the path of life. Ignatius, in the mean while, had proceeded on a visit to Spain, his own health, and the affairs of some of his companions, rendering it necessary that this journey should be undertaken. It was settled, therefore, that they should meet in Italy; and the brethren pursued every part of the route with a patience and courage not inferior to those of their master. Their piety equalled their resolution. Wherever they took up their lodging, it was with prayer that they entered and with prayer that they

taught to use nothing as their own, although in the time of probation it be not necessary to give up the possession of their own property, except at the bidding of the superior, after the end of the first year, if he think it furnishes occasion of temptation, and hinders any person's proficiency in the spirit by his cleaving to it with immoderate fondness and confidence; and then let him who strips himself of his possessions follow Christ's commands." But by the time these rules were laid down, the society had views which had hardly entered into the minds of its first members. It is, therefore, added: "Whoever, at his entrance, impelled by his own feelings of devotion to obedience, may desire to dispense his property, or part of it, to the benefit of the society, would, doubtless, accomplish a work of greater perfection, alienation, and denial of all self-love, by not descending, through any weak regard, into particulars, nor from such regard applying his property to any one object rather than another; but by desiring the wider and more general interests of the society (which is wholly instituted to the greater glory of God, the universal advantage and salvation of souls), let him leave its disposal to him who has the care of the whole society, whether it should be applied to any one place rather than another, within the same province; since he must know better than any other what is most needful, and what most urgent in every place connected with it. Regard being paid to kings, princes, and other governors, that no offence be given them, but that all things give way to the greater edification of all, the spiritual benefit of souls, and the glory of God." . . . . "Temptations may be encountered by applying their opposites: as when an individual is observed to be disposed to pride, he should be employed in the more abject occupations, which may seem good to humble him; and so of the other depraved propensities of the soul." . . . "Let all think, let all speak, as far as possible, the same thing, according to the apostle. Let no contradictory doctrines, therefore, be allowed either by word of mouth, or public sermons, or in written books, which last shall not be published without the approbation and consent of the general, who shall submit them to the censure of three, at least, of learning and clear judgment in that department. And indeed all difference of opinion regarding practical matters should be avoided as much as possible, which is usually the source of discord, and unfriendly to mutual good-will. And, on the other hand, let union and reciprocal conformity be diligently upheld, and whatever is destructive of them be discouraged, so that thus united in the bonds of fraternal love, individuals may more efficaciously and successfully employ themselves in the service of God, and the benefit of their fellow-creatures."—Constitutions, Part III., c. i., p. 18.

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departed. As they wended their way from province to province, they were beheld, with wonder, exercising the painful discipline which was to lead them to perfection. If they needed alms to supply their few wants, nothing was accepted which would do more than furnish them with what was barely essential; and not a thought seemed to prevail for an instant which had not some tendency to the glorifying of the Saviour. Their first resting-place was at Meaux; and they proceeded, without any material interruption, till they reached Basil. There they saw themselves in the midst of men whom they regarded as fallen into the very depths of error; but they were received with kindness and consideration. The same disposition was shown at Constance; but their visit to this place had not so pleasant a termination. Finding that they were weary and friendless travellers, the reformed minister of the town pressed them to come and sup with him. The conversation into which they had entered soon made known to each party the adverse sentiments of each other; and already were words of bitter reproof on the lips of the disputants. But this did not prevent the hospitable pastor from spreading before his guests the best refreshment his dwelling would afford. As they were about, however, to sit down to table, the brethren declared, that if their host took his place among them, they could not eat, seeing that it would be a great sin for them to eat with one who had fallen into sin and condemnation. The good-natured minister laughed at this objection to his taking his supper at his own table, but readily agreed to eat it apart from his guests; and the repast went off with mutual satisfaction. But no sooner was the meal over, when the discourse, which it had briefly suspended, was renewed. No increase of charity appeared in the opinion which the brethren entertained of their host's condition; nor did he, it is probable, find himself disposed to lower his tone when pressed by opponents who seemed so determined to make war without mercy. "At length," says the Jesuit historian, "the poor pastor was compelled to acknowledge that he as in difficulty for an answer to the arguments urged

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against him. 'Then why do you continue to profess a belief,' was the rejoinder, 'which you cannot defend?'" This, according to the same account, so enraged the good man, that he exclaimed, "You shall soon see if I cannot support my creed, for if you linger much longer in Constance, the gaol shall be your shelter." Alarmed at this threat, the brethren, it is said, left the town with the first light of the morning's sun. But they mistook the way, and feared they might be obliged to return, and expose themselves to the wrath of their enemies. At this critical moment, a stranger presented himself, and conducted them by safe and easy paths into the high road. He then suddenly left them, and, as the way by which he had led them was free from snow, while all the surrounding rocks and valleys were covered deep, they felt inclined to believe that he was a messenger direct from heaven.

After many other adventures of an equally exciting kind, they at last reached Italy, and proceeding to Venice, there awaited the arrival of their chief. Loyola, in the mean while, was encountering all the perils of the sea. In his voyage to Genoa, he narrowly escaped being lost; and when he landed on the Italian coast, he was not only destitute of every necessary, but laboured under the most afflicting infirmities of body, and great depression of mind. But he could not pause in his route; and setting forward with the intention of making his way to Bologna, he was soon involved among the wildest labyrinths of the Alps. Often utterly at a loss in what direction to turn his steps, he sometimes found himself on the topmost ridge of precipices, from which there seemed no descent but into unfathomable chasms. Overtaken by night, and the storms common to mountain solitudes, he was tempted occasionally to despair of safety; but nerving himself again with his wonted resolution, he would seize the jutting crag, and then crawl along on his knees till he reached some ledge of the rocks whence he might again survey the gloomy path which lay before him. The perils which he thus encountered only served in the end to strengthen that spirit which rendered him so mighty to command both his own feelings and those of others. But he was almost

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exhausted when he reached the gates of Bologna, and could have well spared any further trials. Scarcely, however, had he crossed the bridge into the town when he fell into a deep ditch, and was dragged out half-dead to suffer the boisterous ridicule of the rabble as they looked at his wretched countenance and squalid garments. Happily for him, there was a Spanish hospital in the city, and he was kindly received, and entertained for three days with all the care which his miserable condition rendered necessary.

The meeting between the brethren and their chief was at length accomplished. Venice afforded them a wide field for exertion, and it was well laboured. Not an object that charity could contemplate remained unattempted by this band of zealous and strangely-excited men. It is impossible to read of their doings without admiration. The account is probably exaggerated; but effects followed from what is ascribed to them which could hardly have been seen, had not much of what is said of their exertions been correct. There were numbers of poor and wretched sick at Venice, who seem to have been placed beyond the bounds to which ordinary charity limited its exertions. To the followers of Loyola the most abject misery presented claims strong in proportion to its greatness. Fevers, and the most horrible kinds of leprosy, daunted them not. When the unfortunate patients were lying in the midst of filth, and with every breath they drew were spreading the poison of disease around, some one or the other of these wonderful men was ready at hand to answer every cry of the sufferer. Even those offices which are left to the lowest of our race, and which require for their performance a singular indifference to common feeling, were not shunned when the health or comfort of the poor neglected patients needed the performance. By this extraordinary display of benevolence, the minds of the Venetians were filled with wonder and admiration. Loyola and his followers found a ready admission into every part of the city; and the conviction entertained of their holiness led several men of corresponding sentiments to take upon themselves the vows and responsibilities of the association. Their numbers thus increasing, new prospects

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were daily opened to the ardent imagination of the brethren. The conversion of the infidels in Palestine was still their main desire; but to undertake this work many preliminary efforts seemed necessary. One of these was to obtain the sanction of the Pope, and another to procure for the members of the society not yet in orders admission to the priesthood. Some of the party were, therefore, dispatched to Rome, to seek the Pontiff's blessing and co-operation. Their journey proved successful, and Paul III. encouraged them to hope for his further patronage by sending them a sum of money in aid of their pious design.

It might have been supposed that nothing now remained to hinder the experiment for which the foundation of the society had been laid. Had this been the case, it would probably have been smothered in its cradle. Enthusiasm, though accompanied even by talents of the highest order, cannot effect impossibilities, and such appeared to most of their cotemporaries the obstacles which opposed their design. Had they embarked for Palestine, therefore, there is little doubt but that they would have been speedily cut off, or that most of them, if allowed to escape, would have returned to Europe with small remains of the ardour which had originally inspired them. It was, therefore, a remarkable occurrence in their favour, that a war had broken out between Venice and the Turks, which rendered it impossible for them to proceed. Obliged to continue in their former field of labour, and surrounded by all the incentives to exertion which may be found in a highly cultivated community, they rapidly advanced in that species of knowledge which is most valuable to men who wish to mould society according to their own views and opinions.

After having remained a considerable time at Venice, the brethren removed to Vicenza: there a similar course continued to be pursued; but, with increasing ability and experience, they enlarged their views, and soon began to advise with each other by what means they might perpetuate their institution. In the sequel, it was resolved to appeal again to the Pope, and desire of

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him the formal recognition of the associates as one of the orders which the Church had consecrated by its sanction, and gifted with a portion of its authority. Accordingly, in the year 1537, Loyola proceeded with his two friends, Le Fevre and Lainez, to Rome, the rest of the party being dispersed in the mean while through such provinces as appeared to offer the most fruitful harvest of converts. Ignatius himself was full of anxiety respecting the issue of his present design. He foresaw that the right to give laws to his society, to impose oaths and send forth his followers as missionaries, whom the Church had chosen as its own peculiar champions, would bestow a force and consistency on his institution that might secure it against all revolutions except the overthrow of the Church itself. His biographers have not shrunk from stating that in the course of the journey he was favoured with a signal intimation of the Divine will on this important matter. Having retired to meditate in a church by the way, he beheld, it is said, the Eternal Father, and Christ holding the cross. As he contemplated this wonderful vision, God was heard commending him and his brethren to the especial care of the Saviour, who answered his supplications by audibly declaring that he should prosper at Rome in the affair which he had undertaken.*

* Itaque sanctis hisce cogitationibus plenus, quo die propiùs accedebat ad urbem, cùm templum ex itinere salutandi numinis gratia solus esset ingressus, mente excessit à sensibus, et in ipso contemplationis æstu majestatem Dei Patris, qui Filio Jesu crucem bajulanti, se suosque amicissimè commendabat, clarissima luce perspexit. Quos cùm in suum Jesus patrocinium fidemque reciperet, ad Ignatium placido ore conversus, Ego vobis, inquit, Romæ propitius ero. Quo ille, tam mirifico viso dulcissime recreatus, Fabrum Lainiumque compellans, Quid nobis, inquit, futurum sit Romæ, in crucemne Deus, an in rotam agi nos velit, haud mihi quidem satis est exploratum: illud certè valdè persuasum est, Jesum nobis quocunque in eventu nunquam defuturum: et simul ut eorum in sententia pectora magis roboret, visum indicat.—Orlandini Hist., lib. II., sec. 29.

Accidit autem, cum ad urbem appropinquarent, ut in templum desertum, et solum ingressus, oraret ardentius. Ibi mutatum prorsus cor ejus est: oculique mentis clarissima luce collustrati ita sunt, ut perspicuè videret quomodo Deus Pater, Deo Filio crucem gestanti, Ignatium sociosque peramanter commendabat, in ejusque dexteram invictam, et patrocinium tradebat. Quos cum benignissimus Jesus in se recepisset; blando, placidoque vultu, ut erat cum cruce, ad Ignatium conversus, Ego (inquit) vobis Romæ propitius ero. Qua quidem admirabili, divinaque visione, mirum in modum recreatus Ignatius et confirmatus est.—Ig. Pet. Ribadeneira, Vit. Loiolæ, lib. II., c. xi., p. 123. Maffei, lib. II., p. 129.

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On arriving at the end of their journey, the travellers were rejoiced to find that the fame of their doings had removed most of the difficulties which they had reason to apprehend. The Pope received them with many marks of regard. Le Fevre and Lainez, having the character of scholars, were appointed to professorships; and while the one received the charge of expounding Scripture, the other occupied the chair of scholastic theology. Loyola himself had sufficient employment in preaching to the crowds that flocked around him. An attention was thus excited in all classes of society, which it only required the ability and continued zeal of such men to keep up. By degrees, the rest of the brethren found their way to Rome, and when the whole party had assembled in its full strength the necessary application was made to the sovereign Pontiff. But previous to this, the society, now greatly increased in numbers, held many consultations respecting the nature of the obligations proper to their plans and character. The religious orders already existing were bound by three vows; the one constraining them to a state of perpetual poverty; the second, to a life of chastity; and the third, to a course of general obedience. To these three fundamental principles in the life of a monk, Loyola and his followers proposed to add a fourth, and it was one of entire devotion to the will of the Pope, and the conservation of the Roman Church. In this we have the grand characteristic of the new order; that, which while it distinguished it from all others, and stamped it with the peculiar seal of the dominant church, gave it a character of bold indomitable energy; a perpetual motive to action; and a spirit rejoicing in every kind of daring warfare on the independence of mankind, which failed not to raise it in real power, and, humanly speaking, essential greatness, above the numerous orders which had contented themselves with a dark, inactive and selfish life of solitude.

It would have manifested not only blindness to the interests of his church, but even injustice and wilfulness, had the Pontiff refused to organize a society devoted, like the followers of Loyola, to his will. Paul III. was

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too politic to reject a petition founded on such grounds as those proposed by the rising order. After a sufficient time, therefore, had been allowed to pass to prevent the appearance of haste, and to afford the brethren ample opportunity of completely disciplining their hearts and minds, Paul consented to sign the instrument which constituted them one of the orders of the Roman Church. This important event took place in the month of September 1540, and the society adopted the name of Jesus as its distinguishing appellation. The reason assigned for the assumption of so sacred a title marked the strong feeling with which most of the members regarded the sanctity of their calling. They desired to be accounted soldiers of the cross; they ascribed the emotions wherewith they were animated to the grace of heaven; and it was to the presence of Christ, and to the virtue of his name, that they looked for success in the bold designs which they had planned. Such, at least, were their declarations, and there is little reason to doubt the sincerity with which, for some time after the first formation of the society, they were made. There is no enthusiasm in hypocrisy, and Loyola and his associates had certainly no lower motives than those which enthusiasm may supply. In some respects they were plainly influenced by a most ardent kind of charity; and their assumption, therefore, of the sacred name of the Saviour to designate their character, or their wishes, deserved none of that fierce censure, or bitter ridicule, with which some writers have been disposed to treat it. The wilful sins of Jesuitism belong to a later period; to the times, when having tasted the delights of power; when having become conversant with the weaknesses of the great, with the secret entrances to courts and palaces, its professors began to commit the fatal mistake of supposing that they might convert a world by political manœuvres, and then, with a rapidity common to human error, rushed upon the splendid prizes which appealed to their ambition, losing at every step some portion of that self-abandoning enthusiasm, of that overwhelming sentiment of charity and devotional awe, which marked the founders of the order.

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The instrument by which Paul III. formally established the society is a valuable historical document. Although most records of this kind rather express what ought to be than what is, or describe objects as they exist in the mind, seeking for images of good, rather than as they are ever likely to be in the outward world, yet it is no slight benefit to the inquirer after truth to be instructed in the nature of men's feelings when forming great designs. If we look at institutions long after they have been formed, and when they have stood exposed to every variety of change affecting mankind at large, the marks of the first plan may be there, but it is hardly to be expected that it will have remained free from additions, or that the lines traced by the original architect will not have been crossed and recrossed by the bold and busy prosecution of new and more extended objects. In viewing, therefore, the early and later state of Jesuitism, the draught of the institution as given in the bull of Paul III., may be regarded as fairly indicating the temper of the parties first concerned. The subsequent modifications, whether in the plans, or feelings of the order, which rendered it so obnoxious to free and enlightened states, ought not to be mingled by way of anticipation, with the simple design of Loyola. A careful observer of human nature might, it is true, see dangerous elements at work from the very beginning of the society: but these were not contemplated by the founder; nor can his character be justly estimated if we forget that his life was passed, not in the houses of the great, or in seeking political influence, but almost entirely among the sick and wretched, and in preaching, praying, and performing so many acts of mortification, that he, at least, could never have had either time or spirit for intrigue.

After the preamble, which states, that the Pontiff had been induced to take the society under his protection, because convinced of the great piety of its members, he says, "that having promulgated a certain formulary of life, in accordance to what they have by experience ascertained to be conducive to the end proposed by them, and conformable to evangelical designs, and to the

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canonical sanctions of the fathers; it has come to pass that the manner of life of their associates, contained in the said formulary, is not only applauded by many good men, zealous towards God, but is also so much approved by some, that they desire to follow the same." Then follows the formulary to which allusion is made, and which describes the objects of the institution as contemplated by the first associates. "Whosoever desires," it says, "to become God's soldier, under the banner of the cross, and to serve the Lord alone, and his representative upon earth, the Roman Pontiff, in our society, which we wish to designate by the name of Jesus, after a solemn vow of perpetual chastity, shall determine in his own mind to form a part of this society instituted to this special end, namely, to offer spiritual consolation for the advancement of souls in Christian life and doctrine, for the propagation of the faith, by public preaching, and the ministration of the Word of God, spiritual exercises, and works of charity, and expressly for the instruction of youths and ignorant people in Christianity, and above all for the spiritual consolation of the faithful in Christ, by hearing confessions; and he shall strive to keep God always before his eyes, and the method of this his institute, which is the way to Him, and with all his energies shall aim at this object set before him by God; each one according to the grace ministered to him by the Holy Spirit, and the due place of his vocation, lest perchance he have a zeal, but not according to knowledge."

Discipline and the most perfect obedience to the government of the society formed from the first the sinews of its strength. Thus it is stated, "The determination of each member's peculiar degree, and the appointment and entire distribution of his duties, shall be in the hands of a general or head, to be chosen by us, that a convenient order may be observed, needful in every well-regulated community; which chief, with the advice of his associates, shall have authority to draw up constitutions conducing to the formation of the object proposed to us, the larger number of votes always having the right of determination. This council shall be

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understood to be the greater part of the whole society which can be conveniently convoked by the general, on the more important and lasting concerns; whilst in the lighter and more transient, all those who shall happen to be present in the place where the general shall reside. But the whole right of issuing commands shall be in the general. Let all the associates know, and that not only at their entrance into profession, but so long as they live, let them daily revolve in their mind, that this entire society and all its members become God's soldiers, under the faithful obedience of the most sacred lord the Pope, and the other Roman Pontiffs, his successors. And although we are taught in the gospel, and in the orthodox faith acknowledge and firmly profess, that all Christ's faithful people are subject to the Roman Pontiff, as their head, and the vicar of Jesus Christ, nevertheless, for the greater humility of our society, and the perfect mortification of every member, and for the denial of our own wills, we have deemed it highly conducive, that each one of us be bound by a special vow, beyond that general obligation, so that whatsoever the present and other Roman Pontiffs for the time being shall ordain, pertaining to the advancement of souls, and the propagation of the faith, and to whatever provinces he shall resolve to send us, we are straightway bound to obey, as far as in us lies, without any tergiversation or excuse, whether he send us among the Turks or any other unbelievers, even in those parts called India, or to any heretics or schismatics, or likewise to any believers. Wherefore they who shall join, before they put their shoulders to the burden, should consider long and carefully whether they are so rich in spiritual goods as to be able to finish their tower according to the counsel of the Lord; that is, whether the Holy Spirit, who guides them, promises to them so much grace, that they may hope, with his assistance, to sustain the burden of this vocation. And when, by the inspiration of God, they have enrolled their name in this warfare of Jesus Christ, their loins should be girded night and day, and they should be ready for the discharge of so great a debt. And that there may be no

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seeking or refusing among ourselves of missions, or provinces of any kind, let each profess that he will never directly or indirectly solicit any thing of the Roman Pontiff touching such missions, but refer all this care to God, and the Pontiff as his vicar, and to the general of the society. The general also shall profess like the rest, that he will not solicit of the said Pontiff touching his own mission into any part, except with the concurrence of the society."

Then follows an account of the duties pertaining to the several classes in the order. "All shall vow," it is said, "that they will be obedient to the head of the society in all things which tend towards the observation of this our rule. And he shall ordain whatever he deems expedient to the attainment of the object proposed to him by God and the society. And, in his own elevation, he shall always be mindful of the benignity, and gentleness and love of Christ, and of the example of Peter and Paul, and both he and his counsel shall diligently observe this rule; and they shall have expressly recommended to them the instruction of youths and ignorant persons in the Christian doctrine of the ten commandments and other the like rudiments, as shall seem expedient to them, according to the circumstances of persons, places and times. For it is most necessary that the general and his council diligently watch over the management of this business, seeing that the edifice of faith cannot be raised in our neighbour without a foundation, and there may be danger among ourselves, lest, as each shall be more learned, he may endeavour to evade this duty, as at first sight, perhaps, less engaging; whilst, in fact, none is more productive, either of edification to our neighbour or of the practice of the duties of charity and humility to ourselves. Inferiors, moreover, shall be always bound to obey the general in all things pertaining to the institute of the society, as well for the great advantages of order, as for the most laudable exercise of humility, and shall recognise Christ, as though present in him, and, as far as is becoming, worship him."

Next comes a description of the mode of life most

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proper for the accomplishment of the objects contemplated. "And since we have experienced," it is said, "that a life most remote from every contagion of avarice, and most nearly resembling evangelical poverty, is more delightful, more pure and more conducive to the edification of our neighbour, and since we know that our Lord Jesus Christ will supply all things needful for food and clothing to His servants seeking only the kingdom of God, all and singular shall vow perpetual poverty, declaring that they cannot acquire either separately or in common for the sustentation or use of the society any civil rights to any real property, or to its proceeds or incomes, but shall be content to receive the use only of what is given them to provide things needful. But they may have in their universities a college, or colleges, holding revenues, estates or possessions, to be applied to the wants and necessities of the students; the government or superintendence of the said college, and the said students; as touching the election of rectors and students, their admission, discharge, reception, exclusion; the appointment of statutes for the instruction, erudition, edification and correction of the students; the manner of supplying their food and clothing, and all other government, regulation and care, being always secured to the general and the society; yet so, that the students shall not abuse the aforesaid goods, nor the society convert them to their private use, but minister to the necessity of the students. And these last also may be admitted into our society when their progress in the spirit and in learning has been ascertained, and after sufficient probation. All associates whatsoever, in holy orders, although they hold no ecclesiastical benefices, nor incomes therefrom, shall, nevertheless, be bound each one privately and separately, and not as a body, to say the service according to the ritual of the Church. These are the matters which, with the allowance of our said lord, Paul, and the apostolic see, we can in some manner explain of our profession, which we have now done, that by this writing we may briefly inform not only those who question us touching our manner of life, but our successors also, if

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by God's favour we shall have followers of this way; and since we have found many and great difficulties annexed to it, we have judged it right to determine that no one be received into this society, except he shall have been long and diligently tried; and when he shall be found prudent in Christ, and conspicuous in learning, or in the purity of the Christian life, then at length he may be admitted to the warfare of Jesus Christ, who will vouchsafe to favour these our humble beginnings, to the glory of God the Father, to whom only be praise and honour for ever and ever. Amen."

The plan and intention of the society thus stated were approved by the Pontiff in these terms. "Now, seeing that we find nothing in the premises, which is not godly or holy: we, (that these same associates who have most humbly petitioned us herein, may be so much more earnest in this their pious intention of living, and the more because they know that they are cherished by the favour of the apostolic see, and may perceive that the premises are approved of by us,) by our apostolical authority, according to the tenor of these presents, of our certain knowledge approve, confirm, and bless, and strengthen with the protection of perpetual stedfastness all and singular the premises as meet for the spiritual advancement of the associates, and of all the rest of the Christian flock; and we receive the associates under our protection, and that of the holy apostolic see; conceding to them, moreover, that some of them may freely and lawfully draw up such constitutions as they shall judge to be conformable to the object of the society, and to the glory of Jesus Christ our Lord, and the advantage of our neighbour; any other apostolical constitutions and decrees of the general council, and of our predecessor, Pope Gregory X. of happy memory, and any others whatsoever to the contrary, notwithstanding. We will, moreover, that in this society there be admitted to the number of sixty persons only, desiring to embrace this rule of living, and no more, and to be incorporated into the society aforesaid. Let no man, therefore, infringe or with rash audacity contravene this document of our approbation, confirmation, benediction, corroboration,

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reception, concession and pleasure. And if any man presume to attempt it, let him know that he will incur the indignation of Almighty God, and of St. Peter and St. Paul."

It is almost impossible to read this document without being led to the conclusion, that it was not the production of Loyola or his associates merely, or of the Roman Pontiff simply regarding a few humble and religious men seeking his protection in works of charity. The provision made for the government of the institution, and its entire subjection to the will of the Pope; the extensive views and plans of operation dimly hinted at, but not the less plainly contemplated by the authors of the formulary or the confirmation; these indicate the presence of another spirit than that which had only, in its simplicity, desired the conversion of Saracens and heretics. While there is much, therefore, in the early constitutions of the Jesuits which might furnish arguments in favour of the sincerity of their founder, there is also that which proves the immediate influence of the Roman court, with all its power of subtle inventions, on the rising order. Loyola and his associates were doubtless men of ability; but, for the most part, they were bold, ardent enthusiasts, being, to all appearance, as little as possible disposed to calculate their forces, or make provision for the future by political contrivances. That they would have succeeded in their wishes without some such arrangements is hardly to be supposed; but they were scarcely of a temper to be able, unassisted, to contrive so complete a system as that set forth in their formulary and constitutions. Their sojourn in Venice might help to enlarge their views as to the capabilities of a new religious order. Their acquaintance with some of the most distinguished members of the court of Rome must have contributed still more to this effect. But, what was of yet greater importance, they not only began to discover, on their own parts, what they might attempt, but acquired credit in the eyes of others for being capable of executing plans stretching far beyond the limits of their original design.

No sooner was this the case than they became the

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subjects of deep and vital interest to the heads of the Church. The advances of Lutheranism were sufficiently alarming, and the general aspect of affairs throughout Europe was no less unfriendly to the success of Italian policy. Till the beginning of the sixteenth century, not only was the Church of Rome prepared to defend its rights by simple dictation, but the state of the different nations which owned her paternal authority rendered it almost essential to their safety that they should not dispute it, or inquire into its nature. Absolute governments are badly protected when they can appeal to no power beyond or above their own. The Church of Rome, though often employed in humbling monarchs, was not less frequently engaged in supporting them. Even when not directly sought, the influence which it exercised was favourable to the maintenance of power of every kind, so that it obeyed the general condition of acknowledging that it existed by permission of the Pontiff. Discontent dare utter no murmur when it was made a crime to complain, and that not only by the fears of rulers, but by the pride of a jealous church. The dawn of civil liberty, the improvement of communities in the knowledge of what is proper to laws and jurisprudence, the increase of commerce, with all its attendant advantages; these, and other helps to the emancipation of mankind, were beginning to operate at the very time when Divine Providence ordered the commencement of a new order of things in the world, as subject to the gospel. On both sides, therefore, it became necessary to the safety of Rome that she should watch over her interests abroad. She was threatened with seeing the line of her communication cut off, the exalted champions of her authority wavering between her and their subjects. The awe with which she had inspired mankind was daily diminishing; and it could no longer escape the observation of her wiser counsellors, that, in order to avert the impending calamity, some other method must be tried than the old expedients of an undisputed authority. A world growing daily in intelligence could not be governed by a power which took no notice of the force of opinion, or which

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had rarely been obliged to defend any of its more intimate and fundamental principles. Inquiry will infallibly lead to the destruction of even the least objectionable of institutions which have risen under the hand of self-interest or supposed expediency. The discovery of this practical truth taught Rome to appreciate, as it ought, the worth of such men as Loyola and his followers. They had the zeal of earlier times; a devotion as fervent and unlimited as if it existed in minds that knew no other principle. Connected with this were endowments of intellect and accomplishments which placed them on an equality with the busiest advocates of worldly policy; while to these qualifications was to be added the all-important principle of an unquestioning obedience and loyalty.

Nor was it for the present generation only that the institution of the order promised an increase of security and power to the Roman Church. The society, though limited at first to sixty, was evidently calculated to attract to its bosom a far greater number of disciples. It offered prizes of high worth to men who felt the stirrings of ambition, yet had not emancipated themselves from the dictates of conscience, or the influence of the church in which they had been nurtured. And many there were of this class in the days of which we speak. It was not till three or four generations after, that genius and high spirit began to regard the claims of religion as inferior to those of the world. The sphere which the Jesuits proposed to themselves was wide enough for the boldest imagination. It claimed the exercise of whatever degree of ability the most favoured mind could possess. The provinces into which it was divided were sufficiently various to furnish abundant food for excitement; and, in the end, it promised to the faithful and successful labourer the blessing of the Church, and an inheritance in Heaven.

Thus calculated to win the admiration and secure the attachment of men of ardent temperament, and providing, at the same time, for their continued devotion to the Roman Church, the best friends of the hierarchy could not have desired a more faithful band of cham-

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pions than that about to be provided for it by the zeal of Loyola. Subsequent events proved the correctness of the calculations which decided the Pope in favour of the institution. The Church of Rome would have felt the shock of the Reformation far deeper in its heart had it not been for the wall of defence provided by jesuitism. That the system of Loyola did not finally succeed against the liberties of mankind and evangelical holiness, was the result of a general law, which prohibits the permanent success of any power or contrivance that sets at nought the simple revelations of truth. Its great energy was derived from the amount of sincerity and virtue and real ability which belonged to the members of the order in its earliest stages, and to a certain portion of these qualities in its subsequent progress: but it was this mixture of good with its evil—this possession of excellencies, that threw a superficial and dazzling light over the whole, that rendered its existence so dangerous to the world, and still more so to the Church of Christ, both the liberties and the purity of which were placed in continual jeopardy by its secret operations.

With a foresight infinitely creditable to their statesmanlike character, the leaders of the order claimed for themselves a complete jurisdiction over the youth of Christendom. At first the poorer classes of society only were contemplated; but the eminent ability which distinguished the teachers soon rendered them acceptable to the heirs of the rich and noble. Gratitude was richly due to them on the part of their pupils. They taught with a care and spirit becoming the professors of liberal knowledge, while, supposing them sincere in the belief of their own doctrines, they might claim no less a degree of praise for the ardent feelings of devotion with which they rarely failed to inspire the youths committed to their care. By these means a path was opened through every province of society, and to its innermost recesses. The fortress was reached and occupied which offered sure vantage ground against the enemy most to be feared. Had it not been that the progress of intelligence, and

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the general influence of the Reformation, were destined to supersede any partial system of instruction, jesuitism would hereby have reigned triumphant over every other institution. The Church of Rome itself would have been subjected, if not openly, yet substantially, to its sway; and the Christian world would have begun another stage of its career under a new tyranny, less cruel than the former to the interests of knowledge, less debasing to the minds of men looking no farther than the advancement of science or the cultivation of literature; but not less terrible or injurious to any of those objects which concern the higher interests of mankind, or the security of the Christian Church.

Loyola was, by the common consent of his followers, appointed general of the order. He objected to the choice, in language which has been charged with hypocrisy, because others have used it who were wanting in sincerity. The correctness of such reasoning few would be willing to advocate who did not forget at the time the first rules of justice. Loyola had the most ample right to be placed at the head of the society which owed its existence to his zeal. Nothing less than an ungracious forgetfulness of the claims of friendship, and of the numerous associations which must have been connected with the institution of their society, could have suffered the brethren to elect any other chief than their founder. He was, moreover, the best fitted, both by experience and devotion, to occupy the office which it was deemed necessary to create. His mind had for many years brooded on nothing else but the establishment of the society thus commencing its career. He had tried every rule by which it was to be governed with the earnestness and love of a parent, and he was now in possession of all those advantages and qualifications which attend upon the entire devotion of a naturally vigorous mind to one great and cherished object.

The missionary labours of the order were commenced by Francis Xavier, who in the year 1540 proceeded to the Brazils, and thence visited several parts of the West Indies, where he gave equal proofs of his zeal and ability. Having spent about two years in these countries, he

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received directions from Europe to hasten to Goa, the chief city of the Portuguese dominions in the east. On his arrival at this station, he found the people placed under a bishop, who, though possessing many virtues, was utterly unable to stem the torrent of vice which had left scarcely a vestige of Christianity in the land. Xavier presented himself to the prelate, as sent by the Pope and the King of Portugal,* and inspired with the simple desire of consecrating his life to the service of the Church. The bishop's blessing was readily bestowed, and Francis forthwith began to examine the sterile fields which he had proposed to cultivate. Never, perhaps, did a more discouraging prospect open before the eyes of a missionary. The horrible ignorance of heathenism was blended in dire companionship with every enormity of a corrupted civilization. Mahometanism added its assistance to complete the harvest of wickedness in this miserable country, and Xavier with all his zeal could not refrain from shuddering and shedding bitter tears as he contemplated the scene before him.

But it was not for one of the first of Loyola's followers to shrink from the sight of difficulties or dangers. The apparent hopelessness of the undertaking was to be, on all occasions, a grand motive to their exertion. He began his task, therefore, with the resolution of a man who felt that there was something worthy of praise even in the attempt to obtain a hearing. Having prepared the way for future efforts, he visited the island of Paravas. The inhabitants of this place were scarcely a degree removed from heathenism. Temples and idols were everywhere to be seen, and the most solemn rites of Christianity were mingled with the ceremonies of heathen worship. Francis at once saw the necessity of instructing the people in the first elements of divine truth. For this purpose he circulated a translation of the catechism and of some few of the prayers most esteemed in the Church. At his desire several

* He bore, in fact, the commission of Papal legate, and was invested with both the rank and authority of that important office; but his humility induced him to keep this a secret till the difficulties of his position obliged him to make it known.

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places of worship were erected in various parts of the island, and the character of the people gradually exhibited signs of amelioration.

In the year 1543 Xavier returned to Goa, and carried with him some native youths, of whom he hoped to make useful assistants in the work of evangelizing their degraded fellow-countrymen. The institution of a seminary for their education promised him success in this undertaking, and he daily formed fresh hopes of overcoming the fearful obstacles which had presented themselves at the beginning of his career. Not allowing any pause to the enemies of the faith, he was in the habit of walking through the streets of Goa, and ringing a bell as he went, to summon the children, the slaves and others, to attend his instruction in the catechism. The hospitals and prisons were also his particular care; and when he commenced the regular exercise of preaching, such, it is said, was the force of his gentle and persuasive eloquence, that no class of the inhabitants remained unmoved, or wanting in the signs of a true repentance.

This account would deserve, perhaps, greater credit, were it not too exultingly said by the admirers of the saint, that so wonderful a reformation was all accomplished in the space of six months. Doubts, proceeding from a similar cause, may reasonably be entertained of the solid worth of some other of his triumphs. Thus, having sailed to Cape Cormorin, opposite the island of Ceylon, he converted, it is said, a village full of idolaters, not by preaching, but by a miracle. No fewer than ten thousand people, it is further affirmed, were baptized by the missionary, and that when he could scarcely make them understand the most simple parts of his discourse.*

* "Diseases seem to have been never so frequent on that coast as at that time, which happened as if it had been to drive the most obstinate, in spite of their reluctance, into the fold of the Church: for the people had almost all recourse to St. Francis for their cure, or that of some friend; and great numbers recovered their health either by being baptized, or by invoking the name of Jesus. The saint frequently sent some young neophyte with his crucifix, beads or reliquary to touch the sick, after having recited with them the Lord's prayer, creed and commandments; and the sick by declaring unfeignedly that they believed in Christ and desired to be baptized, recovered their health." Again: "The process of the saint's canonization makes mention of four dead persons to whom God restored life at this time, by the ministry of his servant. The first was a catechist who had

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On his return to the Paravas he converted the heathen kingdom of Trevancor; visited the island of Manar, and the district of Meliapor, celebrated as the country which received the knowledge of the gospel from the Apostle Thomas. From this province he sailed to Malacca, and some time after to the Moluccas and the Isle del Moro; in all of which places he enjoyed sufficient success to satisfy him that the sufferings to which his labours exposed him were truly for the honour of God. "The dangers," said he, in a letter to Ignatius, "to which I am subjected, and the pains I take for the interest of God alone, are the inexhaustible springs of spiritual joys; insomuch, that these islands, bare of all worldly necessaries, are the places in the world for a man to lose his sight with the excess of weeping; but they are tears of joy. I never remember to have tasted such interior delights; and these consolations of the soul are so pure, so exquisite, and so constant, that they take from me all sense of my corporal sufferings." From Cochin, where he arrived in January 1548, he wrote to his brethren at Rome, saying, that while in extreme danger of shipwreck, "he had taken them and all devout persons on earth for his intercessors with God; had invoked all the saints and angels, going through their several orders, and desired particularly for his protectress and patroness, the most holy Mother of God, and Queen of Heaven." "Having," he adds, "reposed all my hope in the infinite merits of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, being encompassed

been stung by a serpent of that kind whose stings are always mortal. The second was a child who was drowned in a pit. The third and fourth a young man and maid whom a pestilential fever had carried off." Yet further: "As the saint was preaching one day at Coulon, a village in Trevancor, near Cape Cormorin, perceiving that few were converted by his discourse, he made a short prayer that God would honour the blood and name of his beloved Son, by softening the hearts of the most obdurate. Then he bade some of the people open the grave of a man who was buried the day before near the place where he preached, and the body was beginning to putrify, with a noisome scent, which he desired the bystanders to observe. Then falling on his knees, after a short prayer, he commanded the dead man, in the name of the living God, to arise. At these words, the dead man arose, and appeared not only living, but vigorous, and in perfect health. All who were present were so struck with this evidence, that, throwing themselves at the saint's feet, they demanded baptism."—Alban Butler's Lives of the Saints, vol. XII. p. 32, 34.

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with His protection, I enjoyed a greater satisfaction in the midst of this raging tempest than when I was wholly delivered from the danger. In very truth, being as I am, the worst of all men, I am ashamed to have shed so many tears of joy, through an excess of heavenly pleasure, when I was just upon the point of perishing; insomuch, that I humbly prayed our Lord, that he would not free me from the danger of my shipwreck, unless it were to reserve me for greater dangers, to His own glory, and for His service. God has often shewn me, by an inward discovery, from how many perils and sufferings he has delivered me, by the prayers and sacrifices of the society."*

Xavier returned to Goa in 1548. Exhausted by continual fatigue, he needed repose; and the quiet gardens of the seminary, now called the college of St. Paul, afforded him a grateful retreat. There he enjoyed the delights of meditation and communion with heaven. His mind seems to have been alternately exalted in the reveries of enthusiasm, and warmed by the fervours of a sounder piety. That pride or mere fanaticism furnished the sole motives that urged him to the undertakings in which he expended his life, cannot be fairly pretended. His whole history must be false, as well as the accounts of his pretended miracles, if there were not in the ground-work of his character some better and more powerful principle than either of these. Though carrying with him the maxims of a party destined to support the worst abuses of the Roman Church, he must, as an individual, have been inspired by the most exalted charity. Educated, in like manner, to teach many doctrines for which the pure Word of God affords no authority, he yet went forth with a fervent and noble zeal to bring souls out of the dark realms of heathenism and iniquity, and make them worshippers of Christ. The assertion of a power to work miracles, the indulgence of a disposition to use the fraudulent arts by which the ignorant are sometimes brought under the dominion of the more enlightened, is so utterly at variance with the spirit of the gospel that we have every

* Butler, p. 37.

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reason to question the worth of labours thus mingled with falsehood. But though the "Lives" of Xavier abound in statements of his miracles, and describe him as employing means to carry his object which could not have been otherwise than miserable deceptions, we are not sure that he himself pretended to effect any thing more than what might easily be supposed, by a highly-excited mind, to lie within the scope of its ability. If indeed he asserted that the dead came out of the grave at his command, there is no alternative but to suppose him mad or rank him with impostors; but if these extravagant stories spring not from his own assertions, but from the foolish desire of weak biographers to exalt the character of their hero, the real worth and charity, the exalted self-devotion, and untiring zeal of Xavier cannot be viewed by generous minds without a sentiment of admiration.

Having spent some time in the enjoyment of those devotional delights which seem to have formed his sole pleasure and recreation, he began to reproach himself with indulging in too much rest; and the state of Japan having long occupied his thoughts, he prepared for a voyage to that country. But before setting out he made further arrangements for the security of his own peculiar charge at Goa. Several members of the order were, at his request, sent from Europe to aid him in the districts lately visited; and the conversion of a noble Japanese, who, having committed a murder, saw no hope of mercy till he heard the discourses of Xavier, gave additional facilities for the prosecution of the new undertaking. The confidence, however, with which he entered upon this task was considerably diminished, when he found himself opposed, on reaching the chief city of Japan, by a host of priests, who ridiculed both his pretensions and address.* Neither he nor his com-

* The part of the country in which he had begun his labours was called the kingdom of Saxuma, the capital city being Cangoxima. Orlandini Hist. lib. ix. sec. 178. He arrived on the day of the Assumption. Saxuma was the country of his convert, who had received the name of Paul, and whose family were the first to rejoice, it is said, in the tidings brought by Xavier. Faustum Japonibus nuncium et spem præsentem attulit eternæ salutis, eo præsertim die, quo videbatur eos invitare quodammodo in cœlum invecta ipsa cœli terræque regina.

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panion knew the language sufficiently well to converse with these men in a manner befitting their design. But, discouraging as was the prospect at this period, he did not allow himself to think of desisting from the attempt of converting the nation. Knowing how much depended upon conciliating the bonzes, or priests, he resolved upon paying the most strict attention to their ordinary customs. As they were known to eat neither fish nor flesh, he religiously abstained from any food of that kind. Not being able to inspire respect by his reasoning, he determined to inspire admiration by even exceeding them in austerities. Another fruitful source of argument was opened by the employment of rich gifts to the King and influential members of his court. At length the chief priest himself, a very aged man, was induced to listen to the persuasions of Xavier. The doctrine of the immortality of the soul was pressed upon him. However simply or imperfectly stated, arguments on a subject of this nature can rarely be heard without interest. The men of Athens would probably not have given Paul even a temporary hearing had he proposed a subject less awakening than that of the resurrection. To the chief of the bonzes, preparing for the grave, it had the additional value of deep personal import. The old man listened as one that had far less to do with the expressions or arguments employed than with the announcement itself. Xavier convinced him, it is said, that the religion which knew not of the path that leadeth to eternal life was never given by God to man, and that the gospel alone taught the faith which secures unceasing blessedness.

The conversion of the chief of the bonzes greatly promoted the success of the missionary. Permission was granted him to publish his doctrines through the country; and of this he availed himself as much as his imperfect knowledge of the language would permit. Two of the bonzes were brought to acknowledge the truth, and these were forthwith despatched to the seminary at Goa, that they might be ready to undertake the instruction of such others of their countrymen as should manifest a disposition to embrace the Catholic faith.

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But this promising state of affairs did not last long. The priests of the country finding that their followers were daily deserting the temples, represented to the King the danger of allowing the intruders to continue any longer in his dominions. By the application of arguments proper to alarm a royal ear, the monarch was induced to publish the desired prohibition; and Xavier saw himself obliged to turn his attention to some other field of labour. The neighbouring territory of Firando presented the desired attractions for the zealous missionary. Thither he accordingly repaired; but not till he had left an impression on the minds of the Japanese which it was little likely the arts of a worn-out superstition would be able to obliterate.*

Numerous conversions attended the first sermons of Xavier at Firando; and he was sufficiently encouraged by this early success to propose the erection of a church for the accommodation of his followers. Having thus laid the foundation of a Christian community in this barbarous land, he repaired to the city of Amanguchi, one of the richest and most renowned places in the kingdom of Japan. His ignorance of the language, however, still proved an insurmountable obstacle to that success for which he so anxiously looked. Though he preached twice a day in the most public parts of the city, but few of the people evinced any interest in his addresses.† After a sojourn of some months, therefore, he repaired to Meaco, the imperial capital. But a civil war was raging in the city; and the chief priest, it appears, could only be approached by means of offerings which would more than have exhausted the little wealth of Xavier. Finding himself, therefore, on all sides exposed to insurmountable difficulties, he imme-

* The constancy and good manners of the converts moved the King himself to relent, and he became again the protector of the new Christians, Orlandini Hist. lib. ix. sec. 221.

† "Our saint preached here in public, and before the King and his court; but the gospel at that time took no root in this debauched city, the number which the saint gained there being inconsiderable, though a single soul is indeed a great acquisition."—Alban Butler, vol. XII. p. 45. Orlandinus says, "Per vias transeuntem, velut insanum ac stolidum puerorum turba populique fæx ultima à tergo insequens conviciis onerabat ac probris; perque jocum ac ludibrium ea ipsa Christianæ legis mysteria, nominatim quæ audierat, inculcabat. Lib. x. sec. 137.

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diately returned to Amanguchi, resolved to try whether the people of that town might not yet be persuaded to listen to his exhortations. As the meanness of his appearance was supposed to have created disgust in the mind of the King, he for the first time put aside his coarse garments, and assumed the splendid dress of a nobleman. Still further to secure attention, he employed several persons, clad in rich liveries, as his servants; and thus changed in appearance, he sought an audience of the monarch, and presented him with several gifts, which he knew would not fail to be well received.

The result was such as he had expected. Christian doctrine no longer disgusted the King. Xavier obtained permission to preach, and full protection in the exercise of his functions. Three thousand persons were quickly converted and baptized; and the sincerity with which they seemed to embrace the new faith was sufficient to satisfy their teacher that he had laid a permanent foundation for the establishment of the gospel in the country. It is said that he enjoyed at this time the gift of tongues; but it is far more probable that his constant exercise of preaching and conversing with the people had given him increased facility in speaking their language; and to this we ought, perhaps, to attribute his success at Amanguchi, rather than to his display of pomp and grandeur. There was, however, a still more powerful property in all which this remarkable man attempted. His fervent charity and equally profound humility never forsook him, even in the most trying circumstances. They were characteristics which thousands could discover who might be perplexed at the imperfection of his language or the mysteriousness of his doctrines. The qualifications of a missionary are truly described in some of his own letters, and his life exhibits them in practical display. "I have often thought," says he, "of running over the several universities of Europe, and principally that of Paris, and of crying aloud to those who abound more in learning than in charity, 'Ah! how many souls are lost to heaven through your neglect!' . . . Many, no doubt would be

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moved, would seek a spiritual retreat, and give themselves the leisure for meditating on heavenly things. They would renounce their passions, and, trampling under foot all worldly vanities, would put themselves in a condition to follow the motions of the Divine will. They would say, 'Behold us in readiness, O Lord!' How much more happily would these learned men then live! With how much more assurance would they die! Millions of idolaters might be easily converted, if there were more preachers who would sincerely mind the interests of Jesus Christ, and not their own." . . . "But in vain will you commit this important employ to any, howsoever learned and otherwise qualified, unless they are laborious, mortified, and patient; unless they are ready to suffer, willingly and with joy, hunger and thirst, and the severest persecutions."*

Xavier left Amanguchi in September 1551, and took the road to Fuceo, the capital of the King of Bungo, whom he converted, together with several of the priests. This was his last labour in Japan. On the 20th of November he embarked for India, intending, as soon as he had conversed with his associates at Goa, to proceed to China. His resolution having been taken, no difficulties could deter him from making an attempt to convert the people of that country. The governor of Malacca had agreed to assist him in his design by sending an embassy to the court of China, and including him in the party. But this promise was broken, and Xavier had no other alternative but that of casting aside his plan or finding some way of entering the country by stealth. Having taken his passage, therefore, on board a Portuguese vessel, he was landed in the little island of Sancian, near the coast of China. There he spoke with the few traders that inhabit it on the subject of his mission; but they all agreed in representing the design as impracticable, or as fraught with the utmost danger. Xavier, however, could not be induced to listen for a moment to such representations. He observed that it was impossible any greater evil should exist than that which a Christian would encounter by shrinking from

* Alban Butler, vol. XII. p. 61.

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his duty. After many vain endeavours to secure some more efficient aid, he at last succeeded in persuading one of the merchants on the island to listen to his proposals. It was then agreed that for a certain sum he should be landed secretly, and during the night, on the opposite coast. But there was so much peril in this design, not only to Xavier himself, but to the inhabitants of Sancian, that the trader refused to fulfil his engagement; and the anxious missionary again saw himself deprived of the means of fulfilling his arduous attempt. The news that the King of Siam was preparing an embassy to the court of China once more awakened his hopes. He resolved to petition the monarch to be enrolled in the train of his representative. Buoyed up with the thought that he was now approaching the accomplishment of his design, he looked forward to the day of his departure as if the voyage, instead of bearing him to almost certain destruction, was to land him in the midst of friends and scenes of delight. But he had already run the course measured out for him. Bowed down by the infirmities attendant on his incessant labours, he was attacked by a dangerous fever, to the ravages of which he had nothing to oppose but the ardour of a mind, itself almost too active for its shattered tabernacle. Clearly perceiving that his end was approaching, he desired to be carried on board ship, that he might be more free to pray and meditate. But the motion of the vessel was too much for him, and he had to be conveyed back to the shore, where he was placed in a wretched cabin to await the stroke of death. His mind, it is said, evinced during all this time the most happy tranquillity, and he expired rejoicing in the faith, which, however imperfect in its doctrinal development, was yet surely a faith working by love.

While Xavier was thus labouring for the conversion of the East, other members of the order were engaged, with no less zeal, in establishing themselves among the most influential of the European provinces. Austria and Bavaria afforded them an early prospect of success; and in Spain they were so well received that colleges began to be erected for the purpose of gathering around them the youth of the country. In Italy their reputa-

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tion was every day on the increase. Rome became the recognized head-quarters of the society; and means were thus afforded it, not only of communicating immediately with the great authorities of the Church, but of availing itself of the very machinery which had been so successfully employed by the hierarchy for the execution of its own designs. Ignatius failed not to make the utmost of the favour which he enjoyed with the Pope. The limitation of the order to sixty members had sprung from a feeling of jealousy, when the institution was first proposed. It was an experiment which, in days of change, might have proved hazardous; and so in reality it was; for the influence of ability and a fervent spirit employed in any degree out of the right line of old established authorities, while it makes a path for itself, tears up the ground upon which the elder foundation has rested. But the proofs of zeal and loyalty which the first members of the order had given inspired the Pontiff with no slight confidence in their attachment to his interests. Loyola soon discovered that to restrain his society to sixty members would be putting an insuperable bar to its success in that career which he had marked out for it in future times. Supposing, indeed, that the system according to which it was formed had nothing in it offensive to the Church, but was rather favourable to its defence, there was much of inconsistency in denying it those means of extension allowed in common to all other religious orders.*

* The wisdom of the injunctions laid upon the members of the new order to refrain from any attempt to obtain riches, is thus recognized. "Poverty," says one of the constitutions, "is to be loved and maintained in its purity, as the firmest bulwark of religion, as far as possible, by the assistance of Divine grace. And since the enemy of the human race is wont to endeavour to weaken this defence and refuge with which God our Lord has inspired the religious against him, and the other adversaries of religious perfection, by changing the wholesome regulations of the first founders, by declarations and new constitutions little corresponding to their first intentions, as far as in us lies, we will, in this part, secure the society. Whoever shall make profession in it, let them promise that they will do nothing towards an innovation of the constitutions in what relates to poverty, except they should judge that it should be in any way yet further restricted in the Lord, on account of occurring circumstances. In houses or churches which are admitted by the society for the succour of souls, no revenues may be kept, not even to be applied to vestry or fabric, nor in any other way, so that the society may have any power over the disposal of them. But let confidence be placed in God alone, whom by His

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Urged by his own feelings, and the prosperous views of the society, Loyola, in the year 1543, besought the Pope to remove the restriction which had been imposed on his proselyting spirit. There were many scholars, he said, in the various universities of Europe, who anxiously desired admission into the society; they were inspired, he contended, by no other wish than that of

grace it serves, who, without any revenues, will provide all things for us conducive to His greater praise and glory. Let the professed live on alms, and in the houses, when they are not sent elsewhere; and let them not undertake the duty of ordinary rectors in the colleges or universities of the society, except necessity or some exceeding advantage demand it, nor employ their revenues or the houses. . . . . Not only shall the houses and churches of the society have no revenues, but not even any possessions, whether peculiar or common, except what is needful or exceedingly convenient to them for habitation or use: of which kind it might be considered if a place were allowed remote from general habitation, enjoying a salubrious air, and other advantages for the use of the convalescent, or of those who withdraw from the intercourse of the world, to be at leisure for spiritual concerns. And even then it shall not be let out to others, nor produce any thing which may be looked upon as revenue. Although it is praiseworthy to incite men to good and holy works, and especially to such as shall endure for ever; yet, for greater edification, no member of our society ought, nor is allowed, to stimulate any one to leave perpetual alms to the houses or churches of this society; and if any persons leave such spontaneously, no civil right is acquired to secure them so that he who refuses to pay them can be sued for them. But when the love of God moves them to do so, then they may bestow them. All who are under obedience to the society should remember that they ought to give gratuitously what they have gratuitously received, neither demanding nor receiving pay or alms, by which masses or confessions, or sermons, or lessons, or visitations, or any other duty of all those which the society can render according to our institute, may appear to be remunerated: that so it may proceed with greater liberty, and edification of our neighbours in God's service. To avoid all appearance of covetousness, especially in offices of piety, which the society discharges for the succour of souls, let there be no box in the church into which alms are generally put by those who go thither to sermons, mass or confession, or other spiritual concerns. For the same reason, let no trifles be presented to the great, which are usually given with a view of obtaining some more valuable return; and let none of our society habituate themselves to the frequent visiting of leading men, except when induced by the holy love of pious works, or when they are united in such intimate friendship in the Lord, that such duty appears sometimes proper to them. Let them be prepared to beg from door to door, when either obedience or necessity demands it. And if one or more are appointed to ask alms, by which our houses may be sustained, let them beg them, with a holy simplicity, for the love of God. As no private property can be held at home, neither can it be kept elsewhere by others. And when all superfluities are removed, let every one be contented with what is allowed him from the common stock for his needful or convenient use. That the purity of poverty, and that tranquillity which accompanies it, may be secured, not only the professed individually, or coadjutors, shall be incapable of hereditary succession, but neither houses, nor churches, nor colleges, shall inherit in their right. For thus, all suits and controversies being cut off, charity shall be better preserved with all men to the glory of God."—Constitutions, Part VI. c. ii. p. 57.

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devoting their lives and abilities to the service of the Church; and it was their conviction that whatever of talent or grace they possessed would be most profitably employed in company with the servants of Jesus. Paul granted the request of Loyola; and the society speedily assumed a character of more formidable strength than it could have expected to present till after many years of patient toil.

In France, the suspicion which followed every attempt of the court of Rome to extend its influence would have been sufficient of itself to prevent the easy introduction of Jesuitism. There was something in the new order highly repugnant to the feelings of many of the ruling men in that country. It was impossible that they should be blind to the dangerous character of such an institution. They were struggling hard for the independence of that portion of the Catholic Church over which they presided. The spirit of the Gallican hierarchy was as much inclined to pride as that of the papacy itself. But, evident it could not fail to be, that if a society like that now rising into power should succeed in its designs, the court of Rome would have an auxiliary for the execution of its schemes far more to be dreaded than most of those on which it had been obliged to rest for the last half century. In Ireland they found a resistance of a different kind, but not less injurious to the present success of their design. The people were not of a disposition to bear with the stern rule which they endeavoured to impose. Fines and forfeitures for offences against the law were especially calculated to irritate a community depressed by poverty; while the vigilance of King Henry's jealous government left few opportunities for the execution of any plan which had for its chief object the establishment of the Pope's authority.

Two years after the removal of the restriction as to the number of members of which the order was to consist, it received from the Pontiff an unlimited permission to perform the most important offices of the priestly function. Not only was it intrusted with the right of sending the brethren forth to preach in all churches, and in any open or public place, but it obtained also the

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important privilege of absolving from even the worst of sins, not excepting those which might have been perpetrated against the holy see itself. A still stronger proof of the confidence of the Pontiff, and of the skilful policy of Ignatius, was afforded by the permission that was given the brethren to perform their services without regard to the will of the bishop in whose diocese they might happen to be situated. Nothing could be more gratifying to the aspiring spirit of the society than this strange elevation of its members above the proper officers of the Church; but the Church itself was thereby more truly humbled than it had ever been by the efforts of its fair and open enemies. The seeds of perpetual hostility between the clergy and the order were sown by the grant of such a liberty; and however it might tend, in appearance, to render it an indomitable champion of the Pope himself, it carried destruction with it to the most essential principles of ecclesiastical government.

In the midst of these exertions to defend the institution by the whole force of pontifical favour, and to overcome the resistance which it might have to meet in future times, the more immediate objects of his design were not once forgotten by the indefatigable Loyola. Rome and its neighbourhood abounded in Jews, whose situation presented a miserable spectacle to humane and Christian minds. The conversion of these unfortunate people was an object which might have well engaged the zeal of a primitive missionary. It was one peculiarly fitted to inspire Ignatius with the enthusiasm of charity. The difficulty of the undertaking only roused him to greater exertion, and his efforts, it is said, were attended with no slight measure of success. Several of the Jews were converted by his exhortations; and when he had brought them into communion with the Church, he employed the utmost efforts to provide for their future support. With this view, he solicited alms from every class of the people, and from the great and dignified personages over whom he now exercised so weighty an influence. By these means, he at length raised a sum sufficiently large to enable him to found an hospital for his poor converts, and had the grati-

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fication to see at least one of his most useful projects brought to a successful termination. With similar zeal, and not unlike success, he founded an institution for the numerous abandoned women who had hitherto been left to their sin and misery unnoticed; while a third establishment for the reception of poor orphans, crowned his labours at Rome with some of the best and most enduring triumphs of charity.

Nor was it only with the difficulties attending institutions of this kind that Loyola had to contend. The dispositions of his companions were, for the most part, in harmony with his own; but it is hardly possible that the founder of an institution should be able to impress the features of his own zeal so completely on the spirits of his followers as to mass their feelings together, and keep them unvaryingly in the same track as his own. Sincere and devoted, the author of a system may have but one great object in view, and may arrange every thing with a single eye to its accomplishment. But this will not always secure the firmness or honesty of his associates, nor is it necessary that he should be blinded to the possibility of their forming unwise and selfish plans for securing their own aggrandizement through the skilful use of his well-constructed machinery.* The offer of a bishopric made to Le Jay, one of his earliest disciples, by the King of the Romans, set these apprehensions in a clearer light. When applied to on the subject, he firmly opposed the elevation of his associate, and urged in defence of this conduct many reasons not less laudable for their general propriety than calculated to justify his private wishes. "Hitherto," he said, "we have laboured only for the good of the Church, and the promotion of charity. So long as the views of my brethren are confined to these objects, they will be faithful to their original vows, will preserve their love of humility, their readiness to bear poverty, and endure whatever privation may be necessary to the fulfilment of their course. But let them be

* Senticbat vir nimirum prudens non ab hæreticis modò, verum etiam ab iis, quos aliena felicitas urit, haud exiguum imminere periculum. Orland. lib. VI. sec. 21.

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exposed to the temptation of acquiring riches and high places by their zeal, and little can it be supposed that they will continue in this state, or shew equal readiness to obey the precepts of their calling." To this it was added, that the very purpose of the institution required that every one of its members should be always prepared to set off, at a moment's warning, to perform the bidding of his chief. But this would be impossible, if they were allowed to accept stations independent of the society and having duties of their own.

The whole society was deeply interested in this affair. None were blind to its importance, and the Pontiff was at length so convinced by the reasoning, or moved by the persuasion, of Ignatius, that he refused to confirm the appointment of King Ferdinand. That prince himself saw cause to refrain from persisting in his wish to elevate the Jesuit who had gained his favour; and the order regarded this triumph over the dangers of temptation as equal to one of its most successful appeals to the favour of the Pontiff, or of kings, for the support of its claims and privileges.*

By the death of Faber in the year 1546, Ignatius lost his first, and, perhaps, most efficient friend. He had hoped, it is said, to transmit to him the full possession of his authority as general of the order; and was even now preparing to send him to Trent, as one of the best qualified among his followers to defend the cause of the Church in the general council. But the sorrow ex-

* It ought to be mentioned, that Le Jay himself was the first to oppose the intentions of Ferdinand. He had, at an early period of his life, composed a work against the vanity of seeking worldly honours; and as soon as the bishopric of Trieste was proposed to him, he wrote to Ignatius, entreating him, in the most earnest manner, not to endanger the usefulness and consistency of his followers by exposing them to such a snare. The chief object of Ferdinand in wishing one of the new order to accept the bishopric was his confidence that they of all men were the best prepared to defend it against the ravages of heretics. "Movebant pium regem et communis calamitas temporum, quæ tantam hæresum luem Christianum effudisset in orbem; et orbæ illius discrimen Ecclesiæ quæ Germaniæ jam depravatæ propinqua, sine acerrimo vigilantique custode contra gliscentem pestem vix, ac ne vix quidem se ipsa defenderet. . . . . Dat ad ipsum pontificem literas, eumque orat atque obsecrat, ut recusantem Jaium Tergestinæ civitatis episcopatum, virum cæteroqui et eximia probitate et singulari doctrina ad id munus ornatum recipere pro potestate jubeat, si illum Domini gregem in tanta hæreticorum importunitate salvum, et a luporum incursibus tutum velit."—Orlandini Hist., lib. VI. sec. 31–33.

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perienced on this occasion was counterbalanced by the success which attended his efforts to secure the lasting prosperity of the society. The number of its members was continually on the increase. It was fostered by the court of Rome with the most tender assiduity; and Loyola's own views and authority were treated as if possessing scarcely less essential importance than those of the Pope himself. He had, at the beginning of his career, composed a book, entitled "Spiritual Exercises." This work he seems to have viewed with the natural and common affection of an author. He had frequently revised it; and, after an experience of many years, it still possessed sufficient worth in his eyes to be considered worthy of being adopted as the common rule of spiritual practice. There were three objects, we are told, which he most earnestly desired to effect before his death. The first of these was the completion of his "Spiritual Exercises," and their approval by the apostolic see; the second, the confirmation of the society, by the same authority; and, lastly, the establishment of certain general constitutions. All of these he lived to see fulfilled.* His Exercises were approved by the Pope in 1546, and he had the satisfaction to see himself recognized as one of those masters of wisdom to whom a large portion of his Church most fondly looked for the nourishment of spiritual-mindedness.

The progress of the society was now rendered conspicuous by the addition of many distinguished men to the number of its members, or its decided advocates. Among the latter was Duke Francis Borgia, who not only founded a college for its use, but soon after entered the order, and devoted the whole energies of his mind, and whatever advantages his station afforded him, to the promotion of its plans. In the same class also was Thomas Villanova, president of the Inquisition, a body which had hitherto viewed Ignatius and his followers with no slight suspicion. The learned Dominican monk, Melchior Canus, opposed himself to these conversions in a spirit of determined hostility. He represented the Jesuits as the enemies of true religion; as be-

* Orlandini, lib. XVI. sec. 93.

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longing to those whom St. Paul warned the Church to expect in the days of Antichrist; as hypocrites, whose piety was only employed as a cloak for the most dangerous designs. He therefore exhorted his countrymen not to listen to their discourses; not to aid them in their purposes; nor trust, on any account, the education of children to their hands. Canus is allowed to have been a man of great learning; but, it is well observed, that if no better arguments could be brought against the Jesuits than those on which he rested his opposition, they had little to fear.* A cotemporary, however, might have many reasons for charging a set of men with ambition or insincerity, not distinct enough for statement in a general address, or likely to weigh much with others, but quite sufficient to justify him, as to his own conscience, in becoming their determined opponent. Still it must not be forgotten that Canus was the member of an order noted for its jealousy and pride; and it is not improbable that he viewed the progress of a society not yet tried, but daily gaining upon the confidence of the Pope, as far less likely to increase the safety of the Church than the continuance of the antient orders in the full enjoyment of their former renown and influence.

But neither the learning of Canus, nor the united efforts of other opponents, could stop the advance of the Society of Jesus. Its foundations were too deeply laid in the hearts and minds of men of unconquerable spirits, to be shaken by any of the ordinary means of resistance. The time also was, in every respect, favourable to its increase. Fear and agitation, and a disposition to change, prevailed throughout Christendom. When such is the state of things, the power which has felt the symptoms of age coming on, readily listens to bold pretenders, or the professions of a seemingly devoted reverence. The authority of the Popes had long exhibited signs of decay. When placed in the hands of men, themselves bold and vigorous, they strove to impart a portion of their own strength to the enfeebled constitution of their government. But these efforts could never effect the proposed

* Schröckh., t. III. f. 543.

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object. A Church is not to be re-invigorated by the policy of those whose chief aim is to preserve their own authority. Even individual piety will do but little, if it strike not fearlessly and directly at the rotting branches which are weighing down the strength of the tree. Rome, therefore, continued to manifest many of the signs of imbecility; and had Ignatius and his followers possessed far less of the real power and ability for which they claim admiration, but had only proved their devotion and enthusiasm, they would not have failed, it is probable, to gain the grateful confidence of Rome at the era of the Reformation.

We shall again meet with the followers of Ignatius in the Council of Trent. None of the advocates of the antient Church were better qualified to defend its interests in that assembly. Loyola considered the importance attached to this trial of their faith and ability with corresponding anxiety. He knew, as a devoted member of the Church of Rome, that its existence depended almost on the issue of the debate now about to take place. Had there been no other cause, therefore, for care, he must have looked forward to the struggle with lively interest. But it was at this juncture that the worth of his plans was to be tried. If he could not supply men fitted to defend the Church in this its terrible extremity, the learning, the genius and devotion, on which he had placed so much trust, would be regarded as unworthy of the estimation in which they had been held. His institution would thence receive its death-blow, and his fairest hopes be dissipated as those of a wild enthusiast, or, according to the argument of the Spanish Dominican, of a low and selfish hypocrite.

The two men in whom he reposed sufficient confidence to intrust them with the duty of representing the society at Trent, were Lainez and Salmeron, both in the prime of life, and remarkable for their extensive learning, and great natural ability. In sending them forth to this grand encounter of argumentative skill and ecclesiastical zeal, Ignatius furnished them with instructions which breathe throughout a tone of prudence and Christian piety. "Seek," said he, "in the first place,

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the glory of God. Let His honour be the first object of your labours in the council. Let the care of souls be the next great purpose of your lives, for to this you are called. And, lastly, forget not to watch for the salvation of your own, to which end it behoves you to recollect, in your retirement, the wholesome rules of your order, and to practise, with the utmost diligence, the discipline which they inculcate." Such were the sentiments which Loyola sought to impress upon the minds of his followers in this their first great trial of strength; and whatever might be the inherent faults of the institution or its members, those who represented them at the Council of Trent proved that they richly deserved the trust reposed in them, whether examined as to their readiness to obey, or their ability to defend, the precepts of their Church.

CHAP. IV.

STATE OF OPINION IN ITALY AND SPAIN.

BEFORE entering upon that important part of our narrative which relates to the Council of Trent, it may be expedient to consider the state of some of the more influential countries, which succeeded in resisting the efforts of the reformers, to make them partakers of the recovered light of the gospel. We are almost startled at the mention of Italy in connection with the advances of evangelical religion. Yet at the commencement of the Reformation there were many pious and sanguine minds, which deemed that the day was not far distant when the pure spirit of the gospel would again shed its beams upon that much injured land. Indications of the early fulfilment of these hopes are supposed to have been afforded by the learned men who, from time to time, employed their genius on subjects which naturally led them to lament the want of intelligence and liberty

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among their countrymen, and the low state of religious feeling, so readily attributable to a corrupt church, to its pride and tyranny. But the same sentiments may be traced to the scholars of every age and country, when provoked by the daring usurpations of ecclesiastical potentates. They are the common language of every mind which can rise superior to the depressing influence of a general superstition. But if they are to be regarded as the precursors of a reformation, we shall have some difficulty in finding a reason for the fact, that near five hundred years before any attempt was made to modify the corruptions of the Church of Rome, the philosophers and poets of Italy used a language equalling in the sternness of its phrases the fiercest specimens of that which issued from the lips of the reformers themselves.

We ought not, therefore, to confound the fitful flashes of light, which shot through the darkness of an earlier age, with the steady dawning of that day of promise, announced by the rise of a party which resolved to "know nothing but Jesus Christ, and him crucified." The existence of a people like the Vaudois, on the very borders of Italy, might have an occasional influence on those with whom they came into immediate contact. But they could never have exercised much power, either by precept or example, on any considerable portion of their neighbours. They were not in a situation to make converts, even had they had the disposition, which there is no sufficient reason to suppose was the case. Poor and unlearned, their pastors were wholly occupied with the care of their flocks, and do not seem to have possessed either the temper or the qualifications of disputants. The sufferings, moreover, to which they were frequently exposed rendered the embracing of their opinions an enterprize of far too much danger to be thought of by a people so meek and timid as the Italians had been rendered by their long subjection to bad governments and a persecuting priesthood. However probable, therefore, it may appear, at first sight, that the existence of the Church of the Vaudois, so near to Italy, might facilitate the introduction of reformed opinions,

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little value ought, in reality, to be ascribed to this circumstance. That Church had existed there for ages, and the people on its borders had continued in their state of unaltered ignorance. They would still have remained so, to all appearance, had they never enjoyed greater advantages than those derived from the valleys of Piedmont. It was from a people stronger than themselves that they were, if ever, to receive the impressions of nobler principles; from men well exercised in thought, accomplished in all the learning of the times, that their selfish teachers were to learn how much they had to dread, should the gospel be again preached with all the power of its evidence, as well as of its wisdom and its grace.

The excitement occasioned by the proceedings both in Germany and Switzerland, was the first cause of any general attention to the subject of reformation in the states of Italy. Some attempt had been made by Savonarola to rouse the indignation of his fellow citizens against Rome and its confederates. But it was not in the spirit of the gospel, or with any clear views of what was needed by the Church of Christ, that this remarkable man commenced his daring struggle. Though sometimes called the Luther of Italy, he does not appear to have possessed any quality in common with the German reformer, except hatred to the ambition which had sacrificed to its aggrandizement the best interests of mankind. But scarcely had the preaching of Zuingle* awakened the attention of his countrymen to the value of true religion, when signs of his influence began to show themselves about Como, and other parts of the Milanese territories.† Rome soon discovered that there was much to fear from the progress of the new opinions in these districts; and in 1523 an inquisitor was despatched to the Valteline, to cut through, if possible, the root of the heresy. Many men of eminent piety had heard with joy the report of what was taking place.

* Hist. Reform. Ecclesiarum Ræticarum a Pet. Dominic. Rosio de Porta. t. II. P. i. p. 2. Specimen Italiæ Reform. Gerdes., sec. i. p. 1.

† Erasmus, in a letter dated September 4th, 1524, says, "Factio crescit indies latius propagata in Sabaudiam, Lotharingiam, Franciam, atque etiam Mediolanum."—Hist. Evang. Renov. Gerdes. t. IV. p. 30.

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Long dissatisfied with the system under which they lived, it wanted the example of more courageous minds to carry them forward to the direct acknowledgment of the truth. They sighed for the bread of life, but they dare not doubt the authority of their church, or suppose that the means of grace which it offered them was not what it purported to be, or could not effect the work of sanctification in their hearts. Though they felt the desire, therefore, of something that might better bring home to them a sense of spiritual peace, they did not venture to give utterance to their thoughts, or act upon the suggestions which so frequently oppressed them with a feeling of uneasiness and strange embarrassment.

Among the excellent men whose lot it was thus to groan beneath the load imposed upon them by their church, was the learned Carmelite, Benedict Fontana. Full of joy at the information which had reached him respecting the success of Zuingle, he addressed the Swiss reformers in a letter, expressive of the profoundest thankfulness to heaven for the returning light of the gospel. The city of Locarno, in which he dwelt, offered little encouragement to a preacher of evangelical doctrine; but he resolved to leave nothing unattempted which might lead to the conversion of the people. For a long time he could only name three persons as worthy of the name of converts. With the feelings which might well make up for the want of those loftier emotions which attend more triumphant exertions, he piously left the result to God, still continuing to sow and plant, and remaining satisfied with the assurance that, in the time appointed, the Lord would give the increase. These hopes were happily fulfilled. He was soon joined by John Beccaria, a man of similar piety and ability, and to whom, in the absence of Fontana on missionary excursions into Sicily, and the more distant parts of Italy, Locarno was indebted for its chief instruction in the knowledge of the truth.

Œgydius à Porta was another of the Italian ecclesiastics who anxiously aroused themselves at the first tidings of the Reformation. He had assumed at an early age the habit of the Augustines. The reasons which led him to become a monk were derived, he tells

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us, from an inward impulse which would not let him rest till he had devoted himself to the service of God. His confessions respecting the little happiness which he enjoyed, while trusting to the merit of his works, are those of most men who have had the united humility and wisdom to consider carefully their relation to God. The simple sentence, "After all, thou art but an unprofitable servant," is sufficient to bring down the loftiest thoughts of the heart, so soon as it can recognize the saying as that of a redeeming Saviour. Not only is there a debt to pay which it exceeds the utmost power of humanity to discharge, but the very attempt to pay it in the coin of the world implies a fraud, and the offering that is made with the handful of personal merits and satisfactions, plunges the besotted debtor into a more hopeless state of ruin. The discovery of this solemn truth must needs be attended with equal anguish and humiliation, when the soul has been long trusting for its security to the works of the law. If it be acquainted with no other system than one which places the means of salvation, not on the mercy-seat, but on the mountain "that might be touched, and that burned with fire," it can have but small chance of recovering its peace, or of finding a path that shall lead it to the wells of salvation. But let it, at this eventful juncture, hear it powerfully demonstrated from the heavenly Word, "The just shall live by his faith," that it is not "by works of righteousness which we have done," but by the blood of Christ, that life is gained, and a new set of feelings will take possession of the mind, which casting off all self-trust will thereby exercise the truest virtue of humility, and accepting Christ as the only Saviour, will be also led to the purest and most uniform obedience that human nature can render.

The writings of Zuingle had taught the Augustine monk of Como how much he might profit to his soul's health by a faithful appeal to Scripture. Œgidius readily confessed the value of this advice, and, in the fervent language of his age, spoke of the acquaintance which he had made with the works of the reformers as

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the gift of heaven, the boon of his pitying God.* The name of Luther was still more powerful in rousing the attention of the Italians. Bucer's translation of his smaller treatises was widely circulated, and the booksellers were glad to get copies of his works to reprint for the Spanish and Italian markets. As early as 1520, Bernard Schenk, a German nobleman, but the inmate of a monastery in Venice, told Spalatin that Luther had for some time past been well known among them. "I have read," says he, "what you recommended of Martin Luther's writings, and the good fame of this excellent man has been long known to us: but they say, let him beware of the Pope. About two months since, ten of his books were brought to this place, and sold before I knew of it; but in the beginning of the present month a mandate arrived from Rome, and from the Patriarch of Venice, prohibiting their circulation. Search was then made for the books, but only one volume could be found, and that was imperfect. I have desired to get some of these works, but the booksellers are afraid to produce them. There are brethren among us who have read them, and know Martin Luther personally. They speak highly to me of his knowledge, life, and doctrine. May God direct him by the way of truth and charity!" Somewhat later he again writes: "I grieve to say that the Patriarch of Venice has issued orders to the preachers in his diocese to publish the bull of excommunication against Luther, and against all persons possessing his books, or favouring his doctrine, whatever their rank and station. This has been done to the great amusement of Germany; but the senate manifested no slight discretion in the affair, for it ordered that the

* Proh pudor! In quanta bonarum literarum ignorantia! Ego nam quod Christum saperet sapiebam nihil: nihil fidei, omnia operibus tribuebam: in his confidere audacter ac strenue docebam. Et quis recenseat venena, quæ et ego in agro Domini seminavi, adeo ut citra omne mendacium fateri possim, Ecclesiam Dei me esse persecutum? Sed noluit bonus Deus servum suum perire in perpetuum, prostravitque me penitus, neque amplius lumen oculorum meorum mecum est, neque muta reliquit labia. Quin potius ad ravim usque clamavi: Domine, quid vis me facere? Tandem audivit cor meum egregiam illam vocem: Ingredere ad Huldricum Zuinglium, et ipse te instruet quid te oporteat facere: O præclaram vocem! sensit hac voce anima mea pacem ineffabilem.—Comm. de Luth. De Porta: Hist. Reform. Ecclesiarum Ræticarum, t. II., P. i., p. 6.

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excommunication should not be published till the greater part of the people had finished their confessions, and left the churches." *

Not less striking are the words of Campegius himself, who, in his address to the Germanic Diet assembled at Nuremberg, said, 'that he lamented not for Germany so much as for Italy, and particularly for Venice, where the books of Luther were now circulated and read to a most alarming extent. The Germans were naturally curious, and delighted in novelties, but they easily laid them aside. The Italians, on the contrary, pertinaciously kept to the things which they had once embraced.' In the same manner the writer of an Epistle, "De Præservanda Italia a Lutheranismo," observes, that as the plague spreads more rapidly in Italy than in Germany, on account of the greater heat of the climate, so also Lutheranism, which might be called the plague of the papacy, would, when it had once invaded the Italian mind, so quick and ardent, rage in it with greater strength and fury.†

The works of Melancthon added considerably to the influence which the reformers were thus gaining in Italy. Most of the learned men of that country were ardent admirers of his elegant scholarship, and his writings might be found in the hands of those who knew well how to apologize for their reading so suspicious an author by their early love of his beautiful Latinity. This was soon understood by the more active champions of the Roman see. Some of them advised that the intercourse kept up between the literary men of the two countries should be abridged, and carefully watched; and others exhorted their brethren to forego the satisfying of a curiosity which might prove so injurious to their orthodoxy. The caution which thus began to be used, rendered it difficult to introduce the works of the reformers into the districts where the preaching of the gospel, by one or two zealous converts, rendered the supply most desirable. To overcome such obstacles, the booksellers printed editions of the

* Seckendorf, lib. I. sec. lxxiv. p. 115.
† Gerdesii Specimen Italiæ Reformatæ, p. 9.

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more popular treatises without the names of the authors, or with their names so modified by translation or otherwise, that the circulation was secured before any one suspected that the book so eagerly read was the production of Luther, Zuingle, or some of their followers.*

A brief respite was given to the reformers during the troubles which Rome had herself at this season to encounter. These evils might have been foreseen,† and it would have been well for the Christian world had the melancholy sight of a besieged sanctuary led both parties to consider whether there was still no opening left for the restoration of true catholic concord. As it was, numerous opportunities now existed for the circulation of the Swiss or German theology. Many, it is probable, were rendered mild and tolerant by the uncertain condition in which they saw the sovereign Pontiff placed; while others, long inclined to doubt the authority of his decrees, were thrown at once into the circle of his enemies. Whether there was much of right feeling in thus seizing upon a moment when the dominant Church was exposed to singular danger, may reasonably be questioned; nor is it quite evident that conversions which take place when the difficulties that attend them are likely to be removed, deserve to be regarded as triumphs of the party by which they are

* Thus Bucer called himself Aretius Felinus; Melancthon was Hippophilus Melangæus, or Ippofilo da Terra Negra; Zuingle, Coricius Cogelium. —Gerdesii, Specimen, p. 13.

† Maimbourg says, that God used the cruelty of the Spaniards on this occasion, and the impiety of the German Lutherans, to punish the sins of the Romans, in the same manner as he employed the heathen to punish the Israelites, and will hereafter use the agency of devils in the world to come. He also says, that signs similar to those which preceded the destruction of Jerusalem ushered in the siege of Rome. "Insignia Clementis palatii cujusdam portæ imposita, fulmine quassata sunt, reliquis intactis: Tiberis ripis egressus, tota hujus anni hyeme magnam urbis partem inundavit: luna tota quasi sanguine tincta visa est: terra contremuit, canes domibus elapsi, noctibus integris circumcursitantes, terribiliter per plateas ejulabant. . . . . Erat homo infimæ sortis, quadraginta fere annos natus, crine ruber, facie prorsus macilenta, centonibus panni cinctus, cætera plane nudus; is plateas transiens lamentabili voce clamabat: 'Pœnitentiam! Pœnitentiam agite!' Tempus apropinquare testatus, quo Roma ob peccata ecclesiasticorum potissimum, contra quos horribili modo declamabat, destruenda esset totisque viribus et lugubri ac terrifico sono exclamabat: 'Malum tibi, Roma! Malum tibi, Clemens Papa!' 'Nec unquam ad tacendum adigi poterat etsi carceri inclusus. Semper enim vehementius, quam antea obtestatus est, *Romam mox perituram, quia pœnitentiam, Dei nomine a se monita, non egisset!*"—Secken. Comm. de Luth., lib. II. sec. xii. p. 75.

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effected. It must be confessed, indeed, that there is scarcely any chapter in the history of the Reformation, as it regards Italy, that does not awaken some doubt respecting the firmness, or the sincerity of the devotion, of those concerned in its promotion. The evidence adduced to prove, that the principles of Luther and Zuingle had diffused themselves to a considerable extent through that country, is fairly applicable to the argument, and shows, beyond a doubt, that the more enlightened classes of society were ready to embrace any scheme which might afford them the means of emancipating themselves from the galling yoke of a tyrannical Church. But the evidence sufficient for this purpose, is not enough to prove, that the disposition of the people, religiously considered, was such as to secure success in the grander designs of reform. The love of change, the deepest conviction even of the importance of truth, is not always accompanied with the spiritual sense, uninfluenced by which the effectual prosecution of a religious reformation is hopeless and impossible.

Notwithstanding, therefore, the progress which the new doctrines made in Italy at this period, there was actually no proper foundation laid for the permanent preaching of the gospel. The greater number of those who acknowledged, with a prospect of safety, their desire to enjoy more of Christian liberty, more of the blessed privileges which might be looked for under the rule of an evangelical Church, shrunk timidly from the thought that Rome might speedily recover itself, and then punish with avenging wrath the dissidents from her communion. Thus it is generally known, that a considerable part of the inhabitants of Venice, and other cities, received with avidity the writings of the reformers, and gladly listened to the exhortations of those who employed themselves in teaching their doctrines; but that they never ventured to withdraw from the confessional, or such observances as seemed necessary to keep them in favour with the Romish priesthood.

The translation of the New Testament into Italian,* by Antonio Brucioli, a Florentine, assisted, in an im-

* Gerdesii Specimen. Ital. Reform.

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portant degree, the views of the more earnest and determined of the new converts. But a version of the Scriptures was published at Venice as early as the year 1471. This was the work of Nicolo Malermi, or Malerbi, a monk of Camaldoli, and of the monastery of St. Michael in Murano. He states in his preface, that there were translations of some portions of the Divine Word in Italian, but that they were far from accurate, and did not furnish, when put together, a complete volume. This had induced him to commence the labour of producing a new version, and he had effected his design, he says, in eight months. The work was published in two large folio volumes, and the learned historian of Italian literature informs us, that it went through several editions before the end of the century.* It is almost incredible that the translation should have been completed in the time mentioned; but we are not informed whether it was made from the original, or from the common Latin version; nor ought we to conclude, perhaps, that Malerbi did not avail himself of the partial versions already in existence. His language, we are told, is rough, and his phraseology generally unhappy; but this only adds to the interest attached to the fact, that in the course of a very few years, and notwithstanding the expensive nature of the work, it was very extensively circulated. The existence of a version of the Scriptures in the language of the people, at this early period, is an important fact, and naturally leads to the question, how it was, that consequences did not follow from it similar to those which we are accustomed to ascribe to the same cause in later times. It does not appear that the Roman hierarchy opposed itself to the publication of the work, or used any means whatever to prevent its circulation. The want, therefore, of any visible improvement in the state of the people, after receiving this boon, can only be accounted for on the supposition, that they either did not enjoy it in any available form,

* Tiraboschi, Storia della Letterat. Ital., t. VI., lib. ii., p. 311. Some doubt, it is said, was started by Fontanini respecting the right of Malerbi to the credit of having produced this version; but Apostolo Zeno, and some other Italian critics, have shown that there is no proper ground for this suspicion.

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or that the influences of the system under which they lived were more than sufficient to counterbalance the force of this new opportunity of self-instruction.

It is evident, from the size and expensive character of Malerbi's translation, that it could not be introduced into the houses of the people generally; and, to be effectual to the enlightenment of ordinary minds, Scripture must be rendered familiar by frequent study, and the devout, undisturbed meditation of domestic retirement. There was at this time no slight degree of intellectual activity among the richer classes of Italians, and a translation of the Scriptures being a novelty, the editions spoken of might easily find purchasers, though they never reached the lower, or even the middle classes of the population. But even supposing that there were no obstacle of this kind to the more extensive circulation of the new version, and that the people had really enjoyed, to the full extent, the opportunity of consulting the sacred oracles, still something would have been wanting to its gaining a due authority over their minds. When a community has for centuries been taught to rely solely on the dictation of its teachers, it requires much careful instruction before it can be convinced of the value of the Bible. The articles of belief are not the only things to be looked for in Scripture. Them a humble-minded man may rejoice to read as engraven on his soul by long acquaintance with the outlines of Revelation; by communion with the Church from infancy; by the use of prayer and confession. Though unable to turn to the pages of the Bible, he may have for these purposes the language of its doctrines in his memory. The hope that is in him will not be without its reason or its proof; and in the subtler matters of controversy, he may well be satisfied to abide the decision of those to whose wisdom and integrity he must necessarily, in many cases, be indebted for his opinions. But supposing that all this may be granted, the Bible is still indispensable to the Christian of later times. Creeds may give abstracts of its doctrines, and may possess a most rightful claim to universal reverence, as the language of the Catholic Church, the

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communion of saints; but however invaluable as abstracts, they can never claim comparison with Scripture as exciting faith or love. Though indisputably correct in statement, they are imbued with no living unction; are intermingled with none of the rays of love and hope that shed so precious a charm over every exhibition of doctrine in the book of God itself. A Christian who had learnt his religion from the creeds only might be secure against any fatal error in respect to the profession of faith; but whether he would have faith itself may be doubted; while it scarcely admits of a question, whether he would not find, however firm his belief, that it had far less to do with the affections of his heart or the convictions of his spirit than was essential to his happiness.

Though it is not, therefore, for proofs of doctrine that the ordinary Christian might find it necessary to have the Bible frequently in his hands, he needs it for the nourishing of his faith; for discovering the lustre of each particular doctrine, and the perfect and blended harmony of the whole. The mind of the humblest disciple of Christ, daunted perhaps at first with the difficulties of Scripture, imperceptibly gains an acquaintance with its sublimest language. Grace penetrates his heart and quickens his understanding as he rests with patient attention on God's own revelation of his will. By degrees the passages, before isolated, are combined by the very energy of simple thought. The difficulties vanish which belonged to the separate phrase, and the rejoicing believer sees that he can now give a reason for the hope which is in him, framed not merely of so many expressions drawn literally from Scripture, but moulded according to the first dictation of the living spirit. Add to this, the importance which the mind instinctively attaches to promises conveyed directly from those on whom their fulfilment depends. Pious souls will trust with thankfulness to the statement of divine promises, however delivered; but let them read, in the express language of Deity, the manifold assurances of his love, and of the glory which he has prepared for his children, and every principle of our nature

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is awake to convey them more intensely to the soul. In a similar manner, however neglected the precepts of religion when conveyed in human language, the eye that might rest on the tables of the law, written by the finger of God, the ear that might listen to the solemn voice of the Prophet himself, could not easily allow its attention to be diverted from the lofty theme of the revelation. Scripture has a power over devout minds corresponding to that here spoken of. The same sentiment cannot be created by any modification of the heavenly Word; and thus the Christian who is denied the use of the Bible wants the best support to his piety that the Church can render him.

But it is not enough to give men leave to read the Scriptures, and hence the translation of Malerbi might be suffered by the Roman clergy without its endangering their interests, or any vital part of their system. The value of the Bible was not made known to the people at large till the reformers began to teach them, that while it afforded the sole defence against the errors of the age, so also it was essential to their own individual comfort and enlightenment. It was the very genius of Protestantism to rest on the Scriptures; and the Churches which acknowledged its influence left none of their members at liberty to suppose that they needed not the daily nourishment of scriptural meditation. This may account for the different results attending the publication of the Bible in the languages of Germany and England, and in that of Italy, or for the little fruit that was produced by the appearance of any version in times preceding the Reformation. Greater importance accordingly seems to have belonged to the translation by Brucioli, who having been obliged to escape from Florence, on account of the conspiracy against the Cardinal Guilio de Medici, took up his abode at Venice where his brothers, who were printers, enabled him to accomplish his design of publishing his version of the New Testament. The success which attended this portion of the work encouraged Brucioli to continue it; and in the year 1542, the entire Bible appeared, with a dedication to Francis I.

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The criticisms on this translation were numerous and unsparing. Brucioli was not only accused of writing in a style rude and imperfect, but of being too imperfectly acquainted with Hebrew to enable him to execute the task with even tolerable correctness. What was still worse, his critics charged him with making use of designed perversions of the sense, for the sake of defending error; and, in the end, the translation was solemnly condemned by the heads of the Church as the work of a heretic.* Brucioli himself, however, suffered no personal harm, and he is said to have published at Venice several translations from Greek and Latin authors, a circumstance, if true, which might serve as an answer to many of the criticisms circulated against his version of the Scriptures. But he was not the only Italian scholar who devoted himself at this period to the work of biblical translation. A Dominican monk, named Marmocchini, published a version in 1538, and two others of the New Testament appeared; the one at Venice in 1536, the other at Lyons, in 1551.†

Scarcely had Rome recovered from the disasters which it had lately experienced, when means began to be taken to resist the evident progress of the Reformation in its immediate neighbourhood. At the commencement of 1530, an order was issued directing the most diligent search to be made for those supposed to be infected with heresy. This, however, did not prevent the advance of the reformed doctrines, for about two years afterwards several of the most distinguished men at Bologna, the

* Tiraboschi, Storia della Letterat. Ital., lib. II., p. 395. The celebrated satirist Aretino was well acquainted with Brucioli, and spoke of him as a prodigy of industry. In a letter to him, he says, "Is it not enough to have composed more volumes than you have lived years. Are you not content with a name that is known through all the world?" In another letter, addressed to the Marchioness di Pescara, he says, "Well, my friend Brucioli dedicated the Bible to the King, who is called 'The most Christian,' and has not received an answer in five years. Has this happened because the work was not well translated, or not well bound?" Aretino was very likely to be strongly attached to any one who possessed the means of shaking the power of the Church. His pen was continually employed in lashing the follies or ambition of his cotemporaries; but he was little imbued with the spirit that would render the Scriptures of much worth to himself, or induce him to join the party of the reformers as a religious convert. See "Lives of the Italian Poets," by the Author of this Continuation.

† Tiraboschi, p. 396.

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peculiar care of the Pontiffs, addressed the ambassador of Saxony in a letter full of expressions indicating their attachment to the evangelical opinions. Having spoken of the pleasure with which they had heard it reported that a council would shortly be held, they add, "We owe a vast debt of gratitude to you for having endured to come into these Babylonish lands; we owe it to all Germany, which calls for this council, and especially to your own evangelical prince, who with such a noble ardour has undertaken the defence of the faithful, that he seems to consider it but a little matter to have restored the gospel to his own country, unless he give it also to Britain, France and Spain, and Italy, and bring their several Churches into the same state of liberty." Then, alluding to the sufferings which many of the German Protestants had endured, they continue: "Every province of Christendom ought to profit by your labours, and especially this our Italy, which is so close to the very palace of the tyrant, or, to speak more correctly, which containing, as it does, the tyrant himself in its bosom, cannot but acknowledge the more gladly the great extent of the benefit. Although, therefore, we see you thus devoted and ardent in the business, and deficient in nothing that may be needed to its execution, we must still, as they say, keep the spur to the running horse, and beseech and implore you, by the faith of Christ, to leave no argument unemployed with the most pious Emperor, to leave no stone unturned, which may promote the assembling of the purposed council. And this, indeed, may easily be done when our most gentle and benign Emperor shall learn that there are, even in the first of the Italian cities, and in Rome itself, many very pious and highly learned men, and such as are of noble birth, if this can add any weight to their characters, who most earnestly desire the calling of a general council. And what greater triumph could the invincible Charles secure than to see, by his means, impiety cast down and abolished, and the power of Christ, and the law and the Church restored to their proper glory? Or what greater felicity could fall to the lot of this most

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prosperous prince than to present to Christians the view of a Church restored to peace and happiness?"

Having thus appealed to the supposed virtues of the Emperor, allusion is made, in the next place, to what might be expected from the better feelings of the Pontiff himself. "Neither do we believe," it is said, "that the most humane Pontiff will continue to deny our wish. He is a man, and may as a wise man support his own counsels by others more wisely taken; he may also now happily and easily abolish the vices which have not had their origin with him, but with his predecessors, and which, as the corruptions of times past, have invaded and oppressed the Church. And by what method so likely as this could he secure among his fellow men, or with the saints, or with Christ himself, life and eternal glory? But yet further, we hope he will allow that, as a matter of justice, and not unwillingly, which is most equitable, and which the apostles and the holy fathers have appointed, namely, that it is lawful for all to consider the confessions of all, since the just live not by the efficacy of other men's actions, but by their own faith, otherwise faith is no more faith. For neither is that persuasion which, instead of being the result of a divine influence, arises only from compulsion, and the uselessness of which is even proverbial. But if the malice of Satan should render it difficult to accord that which we desire, still may it be allowed to both monks and laymen to buy Bibles without incurring the charge of heresy, and to quote the words of Christ and of Paul without being immediately despised as Lutherans. For this at present often happens, to the infinite disgrace of holiness. And what is the reign of Antichrist, if this be not his reign? What can be wanting to complete its character, when Christian law, and grace, and doctrine, and truth, and peace and liberty, are so openly resisted, trodden under foot and destroyed?"*

In a spirit alike to this, the German Protestants, speaking by the Elector of Saxony, returned an answer to the persuasions of the Pope's Nuncio, at the diet of

* Seckendorf, Comm. de Luth., lib. III., sec. 25, p. 68.

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Ratisbonne, wishing them to accept the proposals respecting a council. But similar as is the tone in which both parties spoke on most points, it is not a little remarkable, to find the Italians urging by every argument in their power, the value of such an assembly to the Protestant cause; while the Germans express, in terms of decided hostility, their dissatisfaction at the prospect which its expected meeting must present. Both, no doubt, were agreed on the subject of a general council, considered in itself; and in some parts of their reply the Elector and his associates speak in the same terms as the scholars of Bologna.* But while the former had utterly cast aside all confidence in the Pope, and viewed every proposition which issued from his court as but intended to cloak some fresh act of tyranny, the latter still retained some feeling of reverence for the head of their Church, and had sufficient trust in his promises to believe that if he assembled a council it would be for the good of Christendom. This feeling, it is conjectured, prevented many † of those who had embraced the reformed doctrines in Italy from making those vigorous efforts which they might otherwise have employed. In the conviction, that a general council would be able to remove the abuses to which they traced the disordered state of the Church, and even its corruptions of doctrine, they deemed it a point of duty to wait with patience the issue of this grand experiment. Recollecting that there had been many periods in the Church's history, when the dark clouds of error had been dispersed by the exercise of united piety and genius, in its assembled representatives, they passed over the consideration of the circumstances which now rendered such a remedy a weak if not dangerous application. In the earlier councils, the numerous prelates and divines who took part in the proceedings had no interest to defend so great as that of the Church at large, its rights, its liberty, its purity of doctrine and integrity. If ambition, or views of private aggrandizement, entered into the minds of some, still these could never form a force

* Sleidan, t. 1, liv. viii., p. 352.

† Hist. Reform. Ecclesiarum Ræticarum a Petro Dominic. Rosio de Porta, t. II., P. 1, p. 9.

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of such power as to disturb, to any great extent, the proper influence of the more salutary elements. But, instead of such being the case, when the papacy was full grown, there was then no Church for Christians to defend, unless they were able, by an exercise of thought not common in those days, to raise their minds above the towering citadels of the system which had been exalted as an antagonist to the Church, properly so called. Rome, in laying claims to a power which belonged not to her, had destroyed, as far as it was possible, the idea and principle of catholicity. Her own proper rights, as a member of the one unbroken communion of saints, were lost in the glare of an unchristian ambition; and it could hardly fail to happen, therefore, that in any assembly over which her representatives exercised supreme control, the interests of the Church Universal would be either altogether forgotten, or made to yield to the selfish demands of this usurping tyranny.

How little dependence could be placed on the proposals respecting a general council was soon seen, as well by the Italians as the Germans. Such of them, therefore, as continued firm in the defence of the new opinions, were driven to connect themselves still more closely in the bonds of amity with the reformers of other countries. The introduction of works calculated to enforce the necessity of a determined struggle became daily more common,* and there was scarcely a city in Italy which did not contain numerous admirers of Luther, or Zuingle, more or less ready to seize the first favourable opportunity for the profession of their faith. In Venice there were already the rudiments of a congregation, and Melancthon addressed the persons of which it consisted, as well instructed in the general principles of religious truth and liberty. Among the great supporters of the Venetian converts were some who did not refuse, a few years after, to seal their doctrines with their blood. Had the party contained

* Luther's address to the Germans was, about this time, translated into Italian, and published under the title of "Libro della Emendazione e Correzione della Stato Christiano."—Ros. de Porta, p. 9.

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many such men, the power of Rome would have striven in vain to stop its progress: but there was too much readiness, in the first instance, to be satisfied with the least possible portion of freedom, with the faintest glimmering of hope, and, in the latter, too little courage, or patience, to bear the storm, and, in the strength of hope, to look forward to happier days.

It was from 1530 to 1542, that the principal efforts continued to be made at Venice to establish a Reformed Church in that city and its territories. During this period also Ferrara, Naples and other states continued to furnish auxiliaries to the same cause. Ferrara was among the first to distinguish itself in the struggle. The Duchess Renée, who had married Hercules II., the reigning duke, in 1527, was a woman of singular ability and fortitude. She would have been one of the most illustrious princesses, it is said, that the world has seen, had it not been for her patronage of Calvin. Excellent alike for virtue and genius; deeply read in the literature of the age; all her virtues and accomplishments were counted as nothing when placed in the scale against this regard for the gospel. To these very endowments however, may be fairly ascribed the part which she took in the great controversies of the period. France had furnished her with ample means for investigating the truth, and the native firmness of her mind was sufficient to preserve her from yielding when she believed she had discovered it. Her enemies have represented it as the common fault of such women, that, unless they correct themselves by great humility, they commonly employ their thoughts in striving to learn more than is expedient respecting the differences of religion. Renée, they add, abused her natural excellence of disposition by a false compassion for those whom she believed somewhat too harshly treated,* and

* "Donna di grandissimo spirito, e che per virtù, per ingegno, e per l'ornamento di quasi tutte le scienze, sarebbe stata una delle piú illustri principesse, se non avesse oscurata ogni sua gloria coll'aderire infelicemente agli errori de Calvino."—Serassi. Vita di Torquato Tasso, lib. II., p. 129.

"Cette duchesse avoit beaucoup d'esprit et de sçavoir, s'estant renduë, par une grande application à l'étude, fort habile, surtout dans la philosophie où elle excelloit à l'égal des plus celebres philosophes de son temps, et l'on ne peut nier qu'elle n'ait eû durant toute sa vie dans l'ame un fonds inépuissable de bonté."—Maimbourg. Hist. du Calvinisme, liv. I., p. 61.

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thus, like the Queen of Navarre, soon passed in the world for a great patroness of the Lutherans. There is every appearance of truth in the belief that the treatment which her father Louis XII. had suffered at the hands of Julius II. contributed greatly to increase her hatred to the Roman see. This might be the case, and still leave no doubt respecting the purity of her attachment to the Protestant cause. The flagrant usurpations of the Pontiffs would, of themselves, have furnished sufficient motives to a just and intelligent mind to shake off their yoke.

Renée at first espoused the reformed doctrine as exhibited by Luther.* But circumstances afterwards brought her acquainted with Calvin; and the expositions which he gave of the gospel, during his short stay at Ferrara, appear to have rendered her more closely attached to the party which he represented. Clement Marot, who for some time occupied the office of secretary to this princess, produced during his residence at her court many of the hymns which are supposed to have aided so extensively the popularity of the new doctrines. The influence of her own character must have been, in itself, of vast importance to the cause. It was scarcely possible that so accomplished and amiable a woman should preside over a people proverbially alive to the influence of graceful and elevated emotions, without awakening a lively interest in the cause which she had adopted. Those of her own sex would be moved to follow her by the very power which such a mind could not fail to exercise over more ordinary intellects; while many of the other sex, led at first, perhaps, by simple courtesy to refrain from abuse, would be induced, by degrees, to look at the objects themselves with a more thoughtful and attentive spirit.

But if Renée must have exercised no small influence over those who were not wise for wisdom's sake, much more would she be able to command the affectionate regards of those who had already begun to inquire into the merits of the parties engaged in the protestant controversy. Many whose natural timidity might have

* Maimbourg. Hist. du Calvanisme, liv. I., p. 61.

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kept them back from pursuing the path which seemed beset with so many perils, would lose this dread wrenled forward by an example which had in it so much of heroism. Others would feel it a subject for generous devotion, and would rejoice in the prospect of being able to enjoy, under the protection of the duchess, the instructions of the most able teachers of the rising Church. The increase of the number of the reformers at Ferrara was such as might have been expected. But they were not long allowed to encourage the hope excited by this commencement of their labours. The political situation of Hercules II. obliged him to cultivate the friendship of the Pope; and in settling the terms of an alliance with him and the Emperor, he was compelled to submit to the humiliating condition of removing from his court the numerous distinguished persons who had of late formed its chief ornament. These were the French nobles and men of letters in whose society his amiable consort had passed her youth, and under whose auspices her own country acquired so high a character for taste and intelligence.

But it was soon discovered that the diffusion of the reformed doctrines did not depend upon the countenance of some few eminent individuals. Ferrara enjoyed at this time several preachers of the gospel, and the common people were beginning to exhibit an interest in the subject, which afforded a fair hope that pure religion might again be established among them, and be loved and prized as it ought. Of those who distinguished themselves in this good work, one of the most conspicuous was Fulvius Moratus.* This excellent

* Præstantissimi viri Morati, professoris quondam Ferrariensis memoriam nulla obliterabit ætas, si vel nihil ab eo præclari gestum fuisset, quam quod Olympiam Fulviam Moratam, fœminam multis nominibus celebratissimam, progenuisset. Enimvero cum is eruditis et probis istis viris accensêri debeat, qui doctrinam Evangelii, tum limpidius prorumpentem et in Italicis regionibus fluitantem, avidè imbiberunt, aliisque, degustata ejus dulcedine, ceu aquam purissimam hauriendam dederunt, quam omnino inter Italos reformatos connumerandos sit, apparet.

Fulvius, having been driven from Ferrara by the jealousy of his adversaries, was after some years restored to the favour of the prince. He died in 1548, leaving a wife and five children, the eldest of which was Olympia Fulvia.—Syllabus Italorum Reformatorum, p. 303.

An interesting account is given of both the father and the daughter in a letter from Cœlius to Xystus, in the works of Olympia. The writer says,

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man had acquired for himself the admiration of a numerous class of friends, and his name has been honourably handed down to posterity as the preceptor and example of many of those who became celebrated in the subsequent struggles of the Reformation. But worthy as he was of distinction for his virtues and attainments, it is to his daughter's name that he is indebted for the brightest glory of his own. Olympia Fulvia Morata, having imbibed at an early age the love of knowledge, became so remarkable in a few years for her acquaintance with the Greek and Latin classics, that she occupied a place among the first scholars of Italy. But while she was thus eminent for her accomplishments, she was not less so for sweetness of temper and virtue. These united endowments acquired her the affectionate regard of the duchess; and she was made the companion of the princesses, in whose studies she shared, and in the advantages of whose situation she was allowed to have an equal part.

The youth of this amiable woman was thus passed in peace and luxury, surrounded by whatever could gratify an elegant taste, and inspire the hope of long-continued happiness. But she confesses in one of her own beautiful and simple letters, that the blandishments of the court, however modified by the good sense and refinement of many of its members, were little favourable to the growth of Christian piety, and that she saw reason to suspect that her feelings would have assumed a character far different to that which it was her delight to cultivate in less prosperous circumstances. She soon experienced those reverses which added what was needed to the purifying of her heart. The death of her father occurred in times of difficulty and danger. Persecution had already thinned the ranks of the reformers in Ferrara, and the duke, compelled to show his zeal in the cause of Rome, aided its ministers in the perpetration of their cruelties against his subjects. Olympia left the court to attend her widowed mother, and perform the part of a guardian to her three sisters and her

that he had heard her declaiming in Latin, conversing in Greek, and unfolding Cicero's Paradoxes in the most admirable manner.—Syllab. Ital. Reform. p. 97.

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brother. She now, however, became an object of bitter dislike to the duke and his ministers. The poverty into which her family was fallen weighed heavily upon her, and the efforts which she made to extricate herself, and the objects of her care, from the misery which stared them in the face, were rendered hopeless by the suspicions which attended her conduct towards the persecutors of the Lutherans. Generous, and not wanting in courage, she beheld with indignation the wicked injustice of Rome, and, with scarcely less anger and vexation, the weakness of her countrymen, whom she accused almost of pusillanimity, for allowing so many victims to fall unavenged, when a bold and resolute course of action might have enabled them to break the yoke under which they groaned.

Olympia's faith and resolution increased with the increasing dangers of her situation; but at the moment when she appeared ready to sink beneath the oppression of her enemies, a young German physician became enamoured of her excellencies, and notwithstanding the distress and perils with which he saw her surrounded, and the generous resistance which, on that account, she opposed to his suit, he at length made her his bride, and hastened with her into Germany. She left Italy in deep affliction at the little promise which it gave of receiving the gospel, or enduring faithfully the struggles which might be necessary to secure the enjoyment of that inestimable treasure. "I give thanks to God," she says in a letter to Curio, "that I am deemed worthy to be loved by his own people. For I care not what others may think of me, however rich or powerful, or even learned, they may be. You ask us whether we shall return to Italy. I do not think we ever shall; for you well know how perilous it is to be a Christian where Antichrist has so much power. He rages now, I hear, more than ever against the saints, and with such increasing fury, that you would consider what was perpetrated before mere child's play, in comparison with what is now done. His ministers are sent into all the cities of Italy;* nor will he, as his predecessor, be moved by

* In omnes enim Italiæ urbes suos Corycæos misit, neque ut ille alter ullis precibus flecti potest.—Olympiæ Fulviæ Moratæ fœminæ doctissimæ

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prayers and entreaties. Last year, Fannius, a man of excellent piety and faith, after having been two years in prison, unmoved by the fear of death, or the love which he had for his wife and children, was strangled, and his body having been consumed in the fire, his ashes were thrown into the river.* Wherefore, although I feel the strongest desire to return to my home, yet would I rather seek the farthest corner of the world than return to a country subject to so barbarous a tyranny."

The rest of this letter is taken up with affectionate expressions respecting the state of her mother and sisters, whose safety and improving circumstances she ascribes to the merciful care of God for his people. In writing to another friend she again alludes to the confidence which she placed in the Divine promises. "Think you," she says, "that God can lie? Why has He given so many promises to those who seek Him, unless it be His merciful will to keep them? He invites, nay He tenderly persuades, all who are miserable to come to Him. He excepts none. Wherefore lay aside that error into which we fell when we supposed that we ought to know before we called upon Him whether He had elected us from all eternity. Let us rather, according to His own command, first implore His mercy, and when we have done this, we shall know certainly that we are of the number of the elect."† To another friend she writes, "I trust that you do not forget that we are bound by an oath to Christ, as soldiers, and that if we desert, we expose ourselves to eternal punishment. For so mighty is our Commander, that He has not only the power of life and death over His soldiers, but is also able to inflict everlasting suffering; nor does He allow

ac plane divinæ Opera; Basil, 1570, lib. I., p. 91. Allusion is made to the vigilance of the papal spies in a similar manner by Cœlius Calcagninus. "Verum de his aliquando coram commodius agemus. Neque enim omnia tuto creduntur literis. Quin etiam vereor ne qui sub hoc scrinio subauscultent Corycæi."—Opera, Aliquot; Bas. 1544, p. 169.

* Fannius is said to have relented, at first, when pressed by his wife and children, and so to have obtained release from prison. He, however, soon repented of his weakness, and having employed the interval of liberty which he enjoyed, he gladly resigned himself to death as mentioned by Olympia. —Syllabus Italorum Reformatorum, p. 247.

† Opera Epist., lib. I., p. 106.

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any to remain inactive. Wherefore we ought to be especially careful not to cast aside our shield from fear of the enemy, nor rashly to expose ourselves to danger. Let us know, therefore, whether Antichrist rages, as we hear he does; whether they are watched who do not attend mass, but worship God in purity: for remember, we cannot follow a perverted and impious faith, and that we profess ourselves Christians. Consequently if, as in other places, the spies of Antichrist should watch us, and endeavour to force us to take part in their rites, they must be resisted, for, as I said, we should otherwise sin against God."*

Nothing can be more beautiful than the affectionate care which, amid all her own troubles, she felt for her mother. "Give these letters to my mother," she says, in writing to a friend in Italy, "but do not tell her a single word respecting our dangers here." At another time she says, "You know how much I owe to my mother; and this, not only because she is my mother, and a dear and loving mother, but because also she is a pious woman and a widow. I have sent her, therefore, some money, and I do intreat you to deliver the letter into her own hands, that the money may not be lost, remembering that you will thereby be conferring a service not on us merely, but on Christ."†

Olympia and her husband had taken up their residence at Schweinfurt. There they continued, watching the tide of affairs, and anxiously hoping that events might at length enable them to feel that they had a home where God was worshipped according to the rule of his gospel. But these hopes were not destined to be fulfilled. The war which soon after broke out exposed them to all the miseries attendant upon a siege. Olympia describes the sorrows of the time in forcible and pathetic language. Her husband became infected with the fever which raged among the famished citizens, and she expected every instant to see him expire, and leave her a stranger in the midst of an infuriated multitude. "But He," she exclaims, "who brings low and raises up, answered the continual and earnest

* Opera. Epist., lib. i., p. 110. † Ibid. p. 111, 114.

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prayers of the Church, and those which I offered up, and restored my husband, having mercy on me, for I could not have borne such a grief." The worst portion of her apprehensions was removed; she had the satisfaction of seeing her husband restored to health,* and though they were obliged to conceal themselves in a cellar, and were left in want of almost every necessary of life, they enjoyed the indescribable satisfaction of meditating on the Word of God, and found themselves filled with peace in the recollection that they bore these troubles in the humble desire of glorifying His name. At length the city was set on fire by the besieging army, and Olympia and her husband were only warned in time to escape the flames. They fled with scarcely any thing to cover them; and as they were passing the walls, the latter was seized by the soldiers, and borne off as a prisoner. "I had no money," says Olympia, in her melancholy recital, "not a farthing to offer for his release; and when I saw him carried away, and vanishing from my eyes, I could do nothing but cry unto God for mercy with tears and loud lamentations. The Lord had mercy, and sent my husband back to me free. We then left the city, but knew not whither to turn. At last we resolved to go to Hamelburg; but this place is near fourteen miles distant from Schweinfurt, and I could scarcely drag myself along. When we arrived, no one would receive us; but we entered the town, and I, among the rest of the poor fugitives, looked like the queen of beggars, for my feet were bare, my hair loose

* The following passage shows the feeling with which she reviewed her early troubles: "Ille qui solet ad inferos deducere, maximis et continuis ecclesiæ precibus ac meis illum reduxit, mei misertus, quæ tantum dolorem ferre non potuissem. In omnibus verò malis istis, unico solatio usi fuimus, verbo Dei, quo nos sustentavimus, et propter illud nunquam ad ollas Ægyptiacas respexi, sed mortem hic oppetere malebam, quàm alibi omnibus mundi voluptatibus frui. Et quanquam nondum liberati sumus hisce malis, tamen quia semper habuimus Deum tam præsentem, spem habemus, nos quando illi libitum et opportunum visum fuerit, liberando fore. . . . . Hæc habui quæ ad te scriberem, et quibus te admonerem, ut periculum ex nobis faceres, tibi quod ex usu esset. Nam hæc omnia ob verbi Dei contemptum nobis accidere non dubitamus, ob quam causam. Hierosolymam etiam funditùs eversam fuisse constat. Quare toto pectore ad sanas literas incumbe, quæ solæ te cum Deo copulabunt, tibi errores, falsas opiniones eripient. Hoc unum erit tuum viaticum quod huic tecum ferre poteris, cætera omnia vel carissima relinquenda erunt." Opera. Epist., lib. I., p. 122.

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and dishevelled, and my only garment a ragged gown lent me by one of my wretched companions. Worn out with fatigue, I fell into a fever, but after four days we were obliged by the townspeople to leave the place. On our way we had to pass through a small town belonging to the bishop. Here my husband was apprehended by the prefect, who gave us to understand, that his gracious master had ordered that all persons coming from Schweinfurt should be put to death. In this manner we were detained between hope and fear till letters arrived from the bishop, when were we permitted to depart, and by the mercy of God were brought to Heidelberg, where my husband is appointed professor of medicine in the university."*

Things wore now a brighter aspect for this amiable woman; but another trial was at hand, for a pestilence broke out at Hiedelberg, and the place was for a time almost deserted. The same resignation was exhibited in this calamity as in former troubles; and when tranquillity returned there seemed to come with it a promise of long-continued comfort. Olympia's husband was highly valued by the most influential men of the district; and she herself, equally admired for her genius and her piety, obtained from all parties the most pleasing testimonies of regard. Her whole collection of books had been destroyed at Schweinfurt. This was known to be a heavy loss, and the learned and wealthy now hastened to supply it with rich contributions of such works as were most likely to prove acceptable to so elegant a scholar. The ready kindness of friends in other respects added still further to the prospect of her finding at Heidelberg a safe and happy home; but it quickly became evident that the hardships to which she had been exposed, though borne with a tranquil spirit, were too much for her tender frame. Her husband saw with alarm that a slow fever was rapidly undermining her constitution; and though nothing was neglected which the most lively affection, or the best science of the age, could suggest, the disorder every day gained ground.† The state of her mind was in accordance

* Opera. Epist., lib. II., p. 163. † Ibid., p. 187.

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with what might properly be looked for from her long and consistent profession of evangelical truth. Ferrara remembered her as one of its brightest ornaments, and the example which she had set, and the care with which she had seized upon the opportunities afforded her of upholding the worth of the reformed doctrines, and the pure Word of God, proved of no small worth to the party with which she was associated. The good and eloquent De Thou speaks of her as the ornament, not of her sect but of her times; and this it was which rendered her so worthy of public notice in the annals of the Reformation. Like so many others engaged in promoting the cause of the gospel at this period, she had a right to the esteem of mankind for eminent talents; and under any circumstances, except those produced by the rancour of persecution, she would have been allowed to enjoy in comfort and tranquillity the honour usually rendered to female excellence.

As her end approached she spoke of death in the language of glad anticipation. Nothing, it is said, was less acceptable to her than the consolation which people would sometimes attempt to render, by prognosticating the possible recovery of her health. "Life," she would say to these misjudging friends, "is a certain course marked out for us by God, and little should I wish to have to turn back and run the whole race over again." Her thankfulness for the grace which had been afforded her was always expressed in terms of ardent affection. "I owe every thing to Christ," was the tenor of her discourse. When asked whether any doubts or scruples still oppressed her, she answered, "No: for seven years I was continually harassed by temptations. Satan used all his arts to entice me back into the world: but since that time I have enjoyed the most happy state of peace in Christ." In the same spirit she rejoiced to call herself a child of God; and the whole strength of her mind appears to have been employed in realizing His presence and showing the power of His grace.

The account of her death is given in a letter to Cœlio, the friend of her father and herself through many years of trial and affliction. As the hour of her departure

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drew near, the tranquillity of heart which she had so long evinced became more intense. The pain of dissolution seemed already passed; and she was heard to laugh quietly, as if delighted with some immediate prospect of felicity. On being asked what had led to this expression of pleasure, she replied, that a place replete with glory appeared opening to receive her. Soon after this she observed, "I can no longer see you, but I behold a scene beautified on every side with flowers." She then sunk into repose, and so breathed out her gentle and happy spirit. The afflicted husband adds, that she had not reached her twenty-ninth year, and that they had only been married five years when this calamity overtook him. "I could bear calmly," he says, "every kind of misfortune, while she was with me; but this overwhelms me like a huge wave, and I know not where to find relief."* He then expresses a hope, according to the fashion of the times, that some of the eminent men, who had always expressed so high an admiration for his wife, would celebrate her virtues in poems or orations; observing, with exquisite tenderness, "I will add to these my tears, when grief will let me; as yet I can shed none." Alluding to some books which had been sent by Cœlio, he says, "I have not yet read your books. Indeed I could read nothing during all the time that my beloved wife lay suffering; but I will read them as soon as I can do any thing, and especially those which treat of the kingdom of heaven, whence alone I look for a remedy to this disease." The grief thus expressed was as deeply seated as the language implied. A short time only intervened between the death of Olympia and that of her husband and brother, the latter her charge from infancy, and over whom she had watched with parental fondness.

Ferrara was suffering during this period the worst evils of persecution. In one of her letters Olympia says, "I learn by letters lately received from Italy, that the greatest madness rages against the Christians: that neither high nor low are spared: that some are cast into prison, others banished, while the rest are obliged to

* Opera. Epist., lib. II., p. 187.

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seek safety by flight."* It was thus the best members of the state were driven away, and the power of the Roman Church was supported at the expense of whatever was most valuable to mankind. The Duchess Renée was not long able to endure the storm. Successive intimations from the Pope, and from her nephew, Henry II. of France, were employed to alarm her into retracting the doctrines she had embraced. At length she was threatened with being separated from her children, and placed under restraint. But she still firmly opposed her knowledge of the truth and sound reasoning to these unjust proceedings. All, however, was in vain, and she was made a prisoner in the palace, denied the sight of her daughters, and exposed to numerous insults on the part of her husband, who allowed himself to become in every respect the instrument of Roman tyranny. The tender affection which Renée felt for her children would not allow her to persevere in the course for which the strength of her heart appears to have been otherwise sufficient. It does not seem, however, that she consented to become in anywise the associate of the Romish party. She appears to have yeilded no further than to appear again at the public services of the Church, and refrain from taking an active or open part in the proceedings of the reformers. On the death of Hercules she retired into France, and in her own castle of Montargis formed an asylum for those whom the storms of persecution might suddenly have left without a shelter.

In Venice, the effects of the tempest which thus burst upon the infant congregations of Italian Protestants were still more distressing. That city had furnished at an early period a numerous band of active and enlightened reformers. They were allowed to increase in numbers till the force of their system began to be felt in the republic at large. Having thus struck its roots deep in the soil of Venetian republicanism, it might have been supposed that it would soon begin to bear fruit corresponding to the elements by which it had been nourished; and this, it is probable, was more than

* Opera. Epist., lib. II., p. 143.

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suspected by the court of Rome. It is therefore not surprising that the utmost care was employed to stop the growing evil, or that, in suppressing it, more violent measures were required than in states of a different constitution. Principalities like Ferrara could be wrought upon by their rulers; and the weakness or folly of the latter would be the Church's strength. But a wealthy and powerful republic was not likely to leave its citizens exposed to the shafts of persecution, till bribed itself into taking part with the persecutor. Rome had therefore to put in practice all its policy, as well as its influence, before it could bring its machinery to bear upon the walls of the little citadel of truth that was rearing its head among the merchant princes of Venice. Unhappily, both for the fame and the prosperity of the republic, she was tempted to sacrifice the best principles of liberty, with the safety of her subjects, to the seeming expediency of the hour. The most daring violations of justice were practised against the Protestants. Baldassare Altieri says, in a letter to Bullinger, that the rage of the persecutors was every day increasing, and that imprisonment or the galleys awaited all who would not recant. This excellent man had taken an active part in favour of the reformers from the beginning of their appearance in Italy. He occupied the office of agent to the protestant princes of Germany, and in this capacity, became familiarly acquainted with every circumstance attending the great movement of the period. From him, however, we derive additional testimony to the fact, that so far as the affairs of the reformers in Italy were concerned, there was scarcely at any time the firmness or discretion absolutely necessary to secure success. Much as he exerted himself among the Swiss and the Grisons, he could not persuade them to form any plan for the relief of their persecuted brethren in Venice. Instead of establishing a commission, as he desired, to intercede publicly for the reformers, now falling beneath the iron tread of Rome, they allowed themselves to be daunted by every weak suggestion of fear or worldly prudence; and the unfortunate Italians were left to their own re-

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sources, never sufficient, either spiritually or politically considered, to save them from dispersion. Altieri himself, on returning to Venice, was offered the alternative of either renouncing his connection with the reformers, or passing into exile. He chose the latter, and, from passages in his epistles, seems to have wandered from place to place with his wife and child, continually apprehending that his retreat would be discovered, and declaring, in the last of his letters that remain, that he knew his enemies would never rest till they had destroyed him.

The accounts given of the consternation which followed the appearance of Annibale Grisone in Istria, afford afflicting proofs of the iniquity of his proceedings. Not a house was free from his search; and such was the nature of the threats which he employed, that the wretched people forgot even the ties of relationship and friendship, and, to escape themselves, gave information, not only against their neighbours, but their nearest connections. Vergerio was at this time bishop of the district; and his attachment to the Protestant cause was already sufficiently well known to point him out to the inquisitor as a proper mark for vengeance. Throwing aside, therefore, all respect for the sacred office of Vergerio, he did not scruple to tell the people, from the pulpit, that they might attribute their bad harvests and vintages to the spread of heresy among them, and that, as this was to be traced to their bishop, and some few others, they ought to go forth and stone them.*

Vergerio's name is properly connected with the history of the reformed opinions in Italy. He suffered therefrom the loss of his dignity, and endured much

* It is observed in the learned annotations of Bayle, "I cannot tell whether this Annibal had ever read the writings of the fathers, wherein we find the ridiculous reproaches of the Pagans, that the followers of Jesus Christ were the cause of all the calamities which befel the people. I do not know whether he had read this excellent passage of Tertullian: 'On the contrary the name of Faction ought to be given to those who concur in their enmity against good and upright men, and thirst for the blood of the innocent; alleging foolishly, in their own vindication, that the Christians are the cause of all public calamities. If the Tiber overflows its banks, or the Nile does not cover the lands; if there is a drought, an earthquake, famine, or pestilence, the Christians must immediately be thrown to the lions.'" Art. Verg. vol. v., p. 454.

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personal hazard. In early life, he was distinguished for his abilities as an orator, and his knowledge of the civil law. "You have now among you," says Bembo, in a letter to a friend at Venice, and dated December 1526, "Paul Vergerio, a very elegant and accomplished lawyer, and who adds to his merits as a scholar a courteous and virtuous mind." Vergerio, having visited Rome, was well received by the Pope, and in 1532 set out for Germany as nuncio to King Ferdinand. On the accession of Paul III. he was recalled, that he might explain to the new Pontiff the state of affairs; but was soon after sent back into Germany, to prepare measures for the Council of Trent. His next mission was to the Emperor at Naples, and his services were regarded as of sufficient worth to obtain for him a bishopric, both the Pope and Ferdinand contending for the right of becoming his patron. But early in 1540 he attended Ippolito d'Este to France, and thence repaired to Germany, where he acted, it is said, as the minister of Francis,* and but little to the satisfaction of Rome, or its adherents. Cardinal Aleander reported, in secret letters to the Pope, that he was known to have spoken disrespectfully of the apostolic see, and that he held frequent intercourse with the Lutherans.† It is remarkable, however, that, notwithstanding the suspicions engendered, Vergerio was received, on his return to Rome, with no slight marks of respect. By some, it is said, that the Pontiff proposed to raise him to the dignity of cardinal; but this, it is answered on the other side, is inconsistent with the known fact, that he was accused of favouring opinions at variance with the Church. It is, however, acknowledged by Pallavicini himself, that means were used to bring him back to loyalty; and the historian specifies the particular means employed, stating, that a certain pension with which his bishopric had been charged was taken off, that he might thereby be enticed to cease from any further intercourse

* Melchior Adam says that Vergerius was present at the Diet of Worms, in the name of the King of France, but in reality for the Pope, who imagined that he would be able to do him more effectual service if he did not appear in the character of his messenger.

† Pallavicini, Hist. Conc. Trident. lib. IV., c. xii., p. 157.

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with the heretics.* It is plain, from these allusions, that the talents and influence of Vergerio had made him feared by the Roman court. The incidents mentioned would deserve little notice, if unconnected with the general view which we are endeavouring to take of the state of affairs at this period. Considered in this relation, they are interesting and important, as tending to show, that Rome felt there was cause for dread when such men as this bishop began to inquire into the state of the controversy between herself and the Protestants.

But, at this time, it is probable, Vergerio had proceeded little further than the overcoming of some of the worst prejudices entertained against the reformers. That he was, at least, still far from being inclined to sacrifice any of his interests to the promotion of their doctrines appears from the fact, that in order to remove the suspicions entertained respecting his orthodoxy, he retired to his diocese, and commenced a work written expressly to confute "the German apostates." It was while composing this treatise that he began really to feel the force of the arguments urged in support of the gospel, and of a reformation of the Church, begun and continued on its own pure principles. His brother, John Baptist, had some time before been appointed to the neighbouring bishopric of Pola. Paul, as soon as he found his mind becoming more than ordinarily impressed with the writings of the Protestants, hastened to this his affectionate adviser. The meeting was trying and painful. John Baptist listened to the confession of his brother with extreme anxiety, and used whatever arguments his mind or heart could suggest to warn him against proceeding farther in so dangerous a course. But Paul had not come unprepared to encounter such persuasions; and he answered them, by beseeching his brother, in turn, to read the Scriptures for himself: to

* "Unde quò ad repetendam episcopalem sedem alliceretur, pensionis quâ gravabatur relaxatio fuit oblata." It is added, "Hæc omnia per Poggium a Pontifice Carolo renuntiata, ut Cæsaris auctoritas, si fieri posset, ab illis provinciis ac negotiis hominem amoveret."—Pallavicini Hist. Conc. Trident. lib. IV., c. xii., p. 157. Tiraboschi it is who treats the narrative of Sleidan as a fable, but if the Court of Rome thought it politic to use any temporizing measures, it is not quite evident that it did not do what Sleidan has said, founding, it is probable, his assertion on statements then commonly circulated. —Storia della Let. Ital. t. VII., lib. II., p. 371.

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examine them candidly, and by the light of the heavenly Spirit.

The Bishop of Pola was wise and unprejudiced enough to obey these exhortations. He examined the Bible, considered carefully the kind of arguments offered by the reformers, and investigated, in all its parts, the doctrine of justification by faith. The result of these inquiries was a firm conviction that the tenets of the Roman Church had been fearfully corrupted by the traditions of men. He gladly joined his brother, therefore, in considering by what means they might best promote the cause of truth in the provinces over which they were placed. Nothing more was practicable for the present, or perhaps expedient, than the simple attempt to make known to the people what the Scriptures contained as the word of life to lost mankind. In acting upon this view of the state of their dioceses, they were, to a great degree, successful. The people gladly listened to their discourses, and the monks already began to see the value of their useless ceremonies, and their numberless traditions, passing altogether away.

Paul Vergerio was not insensible to the danger which he incurred by these exercises of zeal. His brother died suddenly in the midst of his career, and it has been suspected that his death was hastened by poison. But no perils or difficulties could induce the survivor to alter his course. For this firmness he was indebted not merely to the convictions of his reason, but to the strong impressions made on his feelings by the miserable death of one of his countrymen, who, having embraced the reformed opinions, was afterwards persuaded to recant. This was Francesco Spiera, an inhabitant of Citadella, a small town belonging to Venice.* The unfortunate man had long exercised the profession of a lawyer with considerable ability. Having embraced the reformed opinions, he lost no opportunity of defending them, and soon became conspicuous as one of the most energetic leaders of the new party. In the midst, however, of these exertions, he found himself

* Sleidan Hist. de la Reform. t. III., liv. xxi., p. 19.

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exposed to the severe observation of the papal nuncio at Venice, John de la Casa, Archbishop of Benevento. Yielding to the fears which such a situation was calculated to inspire in a weak mind, Spiera lost all his resolution, and, after some little reflection, resolved to hasten to Venice, and there, by timely submission, seek the pardon of the cardinal, and avert the ruin which he so much dreaded. He was received by the nuncio with apparent mildness, and received the desired acquittal; but only on condition that he should return to his home, and, in the presence of his fellow-townsmen, perform public penance.

The persuasions of his wife and children overcame the repugnance which the afflicted Spiera felt at executing this demand of the cardinal. But his mind opened itself to a legion of horrors as soon as the performance was over. A dreadful sickness followed the struggle which he had undergone. He believed himself doomed to everlasting misery. The most skilful physicians were called in, but they confessed their art inadequate to minister to such a case. He was, therefore, at their advice, removed to Padua, not that other medicines might be tried, but to give him the advantage of hearing what the most celebrated divines of that place might say on the subject of his fears. The means of consolation thus sought were not denied him; but they were wholly ineffectual. When Vergerio, or any one else, spoke to him of the mercy of God, and of the infinite value of His grace, "Oh, I deny not that," exclaimed the sufferer; "but his mercies regard not me. I have abjured the truth, and am therefore destined to eternal torments. I see and feel them already. God I cannot love. I know that I hate him horribly." After some time, he was carried back to Citadella, where, after long protracted horrors, he died in undiminished despair.

An impression too deep to be soon effaced was made upon the mind of Vergerio by this scene. Alluding to the conversations which he held with the sufferer, he says: "Most miserable as was the state of Spiera, yet

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how sweet and efficacious sometimes was his discourse. Never did I listen with more thankfulness and delight to any words than to those which fell from his lips, especially when he spoke of the duties of Christ's disciples. 'For a Christian,' he would say, 'ought to lead a most pure and innocent life, and one worthy of the name of believer.' And frequently had he the words of Peter in his mouth, exhorting to holiness, separation from the world, and the virtues of a new nature. To these he added, 'that it was of far greater consequence than people usually supposed, to be consistent with our profession; that something more was required than, under external baptism, to perform certain external works, while everything spiritual was left neglected; that it behoved us to labour continually, and with all the force and affection of our hearts, and so to prove our desire for the glory of God, and our constancy in preserving the truth; and that, despising the terrors of legates and inquisitors, we should fear neither chains nor death;' which things, although known to us before, never, I confess, made such an impression on my mind, or on the feelings of those who accompanied me, as they did when spoken by Spiera. Our hearts were moved: they trembled: for we saw before our eyes the agonies of him who, having understood the truth of what he was thus stating, did not obey it. Wherefore I solemnly declare, that if any danger hang over me on account of the gospel, I am ready to suffer it. Whatever it be, may God's will be done! Though afflictions of every kind press around, I shall willingly embrace them all. Would that by my blood and ashes that seed might be watered and nourished which the Lord has sown in these days by the hands of his servants! For if I should be led bound in the sight of the multitude to the burning pile, I should not perish as an idle and luxurious overseer, full of detestable wickednesses, but because, according to the light given me, I was able to distinguish truth from falsehood. With such ardour, indeed, has my mind been sometimes affected, that I could scarcely refrain from going to the chamber of the Pope's legate at Venice, and, bursting in, exclaiming, 'Behold, here I

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am! Where are your dungeons? where your fires? Fulfil your wishes. Burn me for the sake of Christ, and because I sought to comfort the wretched Spiera, and have published what God has commanded.' "*

Finding himself no longer safe in his diocese, Vergerio fled to Mantua, where he hoped to find in the Cardinal Gonzaga, with whom he had long been on terms of intimate friendship, an influential adviser. Some effort was made to obtain his reconciliation with Rome, but John de la Casa, still resident at Venice as pontifical legate, and his most bitter enemy, effectually opposed himself to his interests. He next took the bold step of claiming his right to a place among the other bishops at the Council of Trent. He no sooner, however, appeared there than murmurs were heard on all sides, which it was not difficult for him to interpret as so many threats of violent proceedings if he did not retire. Some of the fathers, it is said, proposed that he should be immediately apprehended and sent in chains to Rome, and all resisted the plea which he made to have his cause examined.†

Vergerio now retired to Venice, and proposed enter-

* Vergerii Hist. Fr. Spieræ, f. 77. ap. de Porta. Hist. Reform. Eccles. Ræticarum, t. II., P. i., p. 143.

† The reasons given for the prohibition are, it is plain, little worthy of notice. Vergerio intending to retire from the council, went to Cervinus (one of the legates, and afterwards Marcellus II.), and asked him for what reasons he was rejected from the company of the other bishops in the council. Cervinus then answered, "Because I have heard that you denied the truth of the legends of St. George and St. Christopher." "It is true," replied Vergerio, "I did, and do yet deny them; but I ground that denial on the authority of Pope Paul III., who commanded them both to be left out of the Breviary; and in the preface to that book, he saith, 'That he had commanded that all those legends should be left out which are not true.'" Cervinus, being at a stand, could think of no other answer than this: "Those persons ought not to pass for good men who seem to agree with the Lutherans in any particular whatsoever, and, therefore, do you retire from our council."—Crepin. Estat. de l'Eglise, p. 570. "Those," continues the learned writer, "who believe it utterly improbable that Vergerio's despising these legends could be the only reason which the legate urged, will be at least satisfied with the historian, when he owns that at last the legate quitted that reason and alleged another. But they will never pardon Chemintius (Exam. Con. Trid. P. III., p. 576) for saying that Vergerius ran the risk of his life by venturing to declare that he did not approve all that was contained in the legend of St. George." The story of Vergerius is well known, who, having declared at the council of Trent, that he did not approve all that was contained in the legend of St. George, which Pope Gelasius expressly ascribes to heretical authors, ran the risk, not only of his dignity, but of his life.—Bayle. Art. Verg. Note, p. 455.

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ing again upon the duties of his diocese. But in this he was prevented by the legate, who endeavoured to compel him into appearing before the tribunal of the Roman court. This, however, he contrived to avoid, and with equal ability and resolution defended himself for two years against the machinations of his enemies. The example of Spiera was during the whole of this period of mighty influence in fortifying his mind against the temptations which he had to encounter, when the prospect of long-continued ease and wealth presented itself, in contrast with the perils which now environed him. At length the last hope of safety in Italy vanished, and he hastened to find a retreat among the Grisons. His flight occasioned some surprise at the time; but it must have been expected by many who knew his feelings and opinions. He became an active minister of the reformed Church, and wrote numerous works in its defence; his intimate acquaintance with the Roman court enabling him to speak with confidence on many important points, less perfectly understood by other Protestants. He appears to have entertained for some time the hope, that the free discussion of evangelical doctrine would give it favour in the sight of many who were now its enemies. "I shall be able," he says, in one of his letters, "to be useful through my connection with the learned of this neighbourhood, if either a council or any other friendly conference opens the way."

The abilities of this distinguished man were fully appreciated by the princes of Germany. He was called to share in their deliberations; to represent them in assemblies of importance, and to defend their proceedings against their most prejudiced opponents. Speaking of certain disputes which had occurred, "I have been sent," he says, "to compose these differences by some princes of the empire in the dukedom of Prussia. It being known to the Palatine that I was in his neighbourhood, he sent for me, and treated me with a world of honour. I return by Prussia into Poland, and thence proceed to the dominions of the Duke of Wirtemberg. You see, therefore, that I am labouring, and I do it willingly."

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While Vergerio and some other eminent men who had anxiously, but in vain, sought to benefit their native country, were preaching the gospel abroad, Italy continued to be exposed to all the ravages of persecution. Notwithstanding the brief effort which the Venetian magistrates had made to limit the power of the inquisitors, the miseries inflicted on those suspected of any attachment to the reformed doctrines became every day more intolerable. The accusation which might be brought, either in malice or in wantonness, was scarcely submitted to inquiry; but the unfortunate captive was either thrown into a dungeon or despatched to Rome, there to endure the extreme vengeance of the Church. So little was common justice observed in these cases, that even strangers and foreigners were seized and punished on suspicion, with no less severity than those who had been long under the observation of the government. Instances occurred in which not only were merchants exposed to this treatment, but even the messengers sent to complain of their unjust detention saw themselves in danger of imprisonment.

But it was not till after many years that Venice consented to the actual slaughter of its people in support of the usurpations of the Roman Pontiffs. The measure of iniquity was only gradually and slowly filled; but there is in this very circumstance something more terrible to the mind than in most of those which ordinarily accompany such proceedings. States and churches have their sudden impulses as well as individuals; and it is not always that the sudden outbreak of anger proves the existence of any determined hatred to the rights of humanity. But in the course pursued against the Italian Protestants we see the cold and calculating wickedness of Romish tyranny. The principles of persecution were thereby shewn to be interwoven with the very life and constitution of the Church. Time was given for inquiry, for examining the principles of the proposed victims, and the fair and common claims of universal humanity and justice; but every year added to the force of the passion to which it became so willingly subject. Threats were followed by impri-

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sonment: to the penalty of imprisonment succeeded that of the galleys; and then came the actual sacrifice of life, with all the attendant horrors, manifesting too clearly that a Church professedly Christian, and substantially possessing the means of grace, may lose the knowledge of whatever is most necessary to the agency of a Church for the conversion of the erring, or the support of suffering humanity.

The late occurrence, however, of martyrdoms, in the history of Italian Protestantism, must not be altogether ascribed to the slow growth of that policy on the part of the Roman Church which led at last to the perpetration of so many enormities. Among the most noted of the men concerned in the publication of the reformed doctrines in Italy, we read of but few who evinced any of those loftier qualities of temper which prepare the mind for the endurance of great suffering. The heaviest affliction conceived of was that which belongs to separation from home and country. Cælio, Olympia Morata, Ochino, Vergerio,* all fled at the signal given by the darkling clouds of persecution. None appear to have understood the principle so often acted upon among the reformers of other countries. This, it should be understood, was not from a want of the ordinary faith and graces of real religion, and therefore ought not to be brought against them as evidence of vacillation or ignorance; but it must be admitted as fairly proving, that their hearts were not strengthened by the quickening, and highly ennobling, motives which operated on those of many of their brethren, and that therefore, if Rome saw it necessary to proceed with caution, the timidity, and in some degree calculating spirit, of those with whom it was immediately con-

* Vergerio died at Tubingen in the year 1565. The Nuncio Delfino, it is said, saw hopes of converting him, but he discovered that pride had obtained too strong a hold of his heart. "Io non darò il catalogo di tutte l'opere, o a dir meglio di tutti i libercoli del Vergerio. . . . . Tutti sono scritti in lingua Italiana, ed in essi ei non si scuopre nè profondo teologo, nè uomo erudito. La maldicenza con cui cerca di screditare la religione Cattolica e i piu illustri seguaci di essa, e una certa popolare eloquenza, sono gli unici pregi di questo scrittore, per cui que' libri ebbero allora gran corso, ma per assai breve tempo."—Tiraboschi: Storia della Letterat. Ital. t. VII., lib. II., p. 373.

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cerned, rendered this mode of action more easily available.*

Milan and its neighbourhood furnished the inquisitors with an open field for the exercise of their office. It was by this district that the persecuted reformers generally fled when driven from other parts of the country. As soon as this was found to be the case, officers of the Inquisition were posted along the line of road; and when the unfortunate fugitives thought themselves secure, they were suddenly assailed from these lurking places of their pursuers, and conveyed to prison. The operations of the persecutors in this province were rendered so much the more terrible, it is said, from the assistance readily granted them by the civil magistrates. Never refused a supply of arms, or the means of more effectually watching the passes, the servants of the Inquisition were enabled to gather, as in a net, the victims of whom any trace could be found. Many, it is therefore conjectured, perished in secret, and by the most cruel deaths; those who escaped only saving their lives by taking circuitous routs, and hiding themselves by the way till the patience of their pursuers was exhausted.

Francis Gamba was one of the sufferers of this period. Having embraced the reformed opinions at Geneva, which he had visited on business, he was returning

* Julius III. despised the slow measures of his predecessors, and burnt, it is said, with new ardour to destroy heresy. His letter to the Venetians, in which he persuades them to a union of counsels is a miserable piece of flattery. At this time, he saw them ready to admit his inquisitors: but soon after they began to fear that the unlimited power of these men would produce most dangerous consequences, and they then bethought themselves of obliging them to consult the civil authorities before proceeding to inflict punishment. This greatly enraged Julius, and his conduct intimates very clearly how resolved he was to push matters to extremity. "Die xxx. mensis Decembris fuit congregatio reverendissimorum Cardinalium deputatorum in causa fidei coram pontifice super examinatione Bullæ, quam sanctitas sua editura est contra impedientes libertatem ecclesiasticam, et turbantes jurisdictionem spiritualem, et præsertim contra se intromittentes in cognitione hæresis, cum id multis in locis maxime invaluerit, præcipue autem apud Venetos, qui novissime his diebus lege publica statuerunt, ut per eorum dominium nullus inquisitor, vel ordinarius cognoscat de dicto crimine absque assistentia, et interventu deputatorum sæcularium per eos constituendorum, quod mirum in modum suæ sanctitati displicuit, idque nullo modo pati vult. Approbata fuit ab omnibus Cardinalibus pia mens suæ sanctitatis. Feria VI. Hebdomadæ Sanctæ in Sacello lecta Bulla, quam Julius III. edidit. contra seculares intromittentes se cognitione hæresis." Raynaldi Annales Eccles. t. xiv., p. 400.

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home, when, the report of his conversion having preceded him, he was seized and thrown into prison at Como. The account of his martyrdom is given in a letter written by a gentleman of the city to his brother, and shews well how fine and enlightened a spirit animated the sufferer's confession. "When your brother," says the writer, "was cast into prison, it is incredible the number of persons of all ranks that went to see him. Among them were many men of rank and learning; and no efforts were spared to persuade him to recant, and not to persist in his absurd phantasies and imaginations. But he replied, that they were not vain and frivolous speculations which he held, but the truth of the living God, the doctrine of salvation, and the Holy Word of our Lord Jesus Christ. On every point which he advanced he brought some passage of scripture to prove its correctness, continually asserting, with admirable resolution, that he would infinitely rather be put to death than renounce Jesus Christ, the only Saviour of the world, whose quarrel and doctrine he maintained, and that he would never betray by disloyalty the cause which God had put into his hand."

The firmness and intelligence of the prisoner had some effect upon the minds of the priests and monks who came to visit him. They could not refrain from admiring the constancy with which, in such extreme danger, he continued to maintain his purpose. A resolution, therefore, was formed to try another mode of persuasion; and, entering his cell in a body, they told him that they would not only obtain his immediate release, if he would cease to maintain his errors, but make him a citizen of Como, and provide him with a suitable maintenance. But his resolution was not to be shaken; and when they announced to him that he must shortly suffer death, he replied, that he desired nothing else, and that they could not have brought him better news.

Some attempt was made to delay the execution, in the hope that he might still recant. He, however, continued in the same calm and happy state of devotion to the cause of the gospel. When the order at length

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arrived for consigning him to the flames, he was led before the magistrate, and sentence was formally pronounced upon him, but with the renewed offer of freedom if he would recant. Instead of manifesting any diminution of courage, he thanked the judge for the sentence which was so soon to bring him to the stake. But he had made a deep impression on the minds of many influential persons in the town. At their instance the execution was deferred for some days; and the interval thus allowed afforded him fresh opportunities of expressing his unalterable conviction of the truth of his opinions, and the joy which he felt in being about to die for the honour of his Lord. When again pressed with offers of many worldly advantages if he would consent to acknowledge himself in error, he asked, whether it could be worth while to speak of things like these to a man who had received the promise of an immortal crown and eternal life!

The day for his execution having arrived, the officer, to whom the charge of putting him to death was committed, entered his cell, and, directing him to prepare for suffering, entreated his pardon. "I grant it you with all my heart," he replied, "and pray that God may afford you grace to know his salvation. Had I money, I would freely give it you." At the sound of the bell he went forth, and was immediately joined by two Capuchin monks, who offered him consolation; but he requested them to leave him alone, observing, as they presented the cross, that he had Jesus Christ himself with him, and that he felt in a lively manner the virtue and efficacy of his death and passion in his soul. They observed, in answer to this, that if he refused to look at the cross, he would be cast into despair when he began to feel the tortures of the fire. He answered, that his heart was full of joy and consolation, and that he had a sense of indescribable delight; that the pain which his body might have to endure would pass away in an instant; while his soul would be admitted to celestial happiness, and to the blessed company of angels, with them to enjoy for ever the kingdom which God has

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prepared for his children, and such good things as neither eye hath seen, nor ear heard, nor the heart of man conceived.

To put an end to this discourse, which it was thought might injure the people, the executioner was directed to pierce his tongue. He still, however, continued to pray with a fervency which was felt and understood by the spectators. Having arrived at the spot appointed for the last scene of his sufferings, he knelt down, and the executioner immediately strangled him, performing his part with merciful determination, to deprive the martyr of all sensibility before committing him to the flames.*

Such an event could not fail to strike terror into the hearts of those who had experienced none of the influences common to men like Gamba. But there were many who, already convinced of the general injustice of the proceedings against the reformers, now beheld, with a stern and scarcely repressible indignation, the sanguinary character of their spiritual rulers. This feeling did not display itself in those common and united efforts for emancipation which were made in other parts of Europe; but it was sufficient to produce many changes in individual sentiment, unseen, uncalculated upon, but not unimportant. And this is a point which ought not to be lost sight of in the consideration of any of the great events on which it is the delight of history to expatiate. Many a state and community may have, in vain, sought to shake off the burdensome load of superstition or tyranny, and failed in the attempt; but could we look into the constitution of the people's character after the effort, we should doubtless, in almost every case, find that a vast change had taken place, and that while the whole had made a progressive movement,

* Histoire des Martyrs, 1608. liv. v., p. 282. Vergerius in speaking of the infamy which Rome incurred in refusing an appeal to the word of the gospel says, "Quid enim aliud dicebat se optare et petere ille sanctus martyr Jesu Christi, Franciscus Gamba Brixiensis, quem tu vix ante mensem novo atque inaudito quodam crudelitatis genere mactasti Comi, cum perpetua ejus civitatis (alioquin bonæ et non mediocris nominis) infamia? Neque enim satis putasti si vel laqueo gulam fregisses, vel caput truncasses, aut exussisses, sed omnia simul hæc tria supplicia crudelissime in unum hominem cumulasti."—De Porta: Hist. Reform. Eccles. Rætic. t. II., p. 262.

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while the mass itself had shifted its position, some of its living portions had pressed forward, and, though without enough of power, or distinctness of principle to separate themselves, had gained an elevation whence they might survey a wider prospect, and catch the breathings of a purer though still distant clime.

No labour was spared to prevent the people from continuing to listen to the preaching of the reformers. In the neighbouring Valteline the new doctrines were very generally diffused; and, to some extent, the effect of their publication was seen in the improved manners and condition of the towns and villages. But the question was not, whether the publication of the truth would be profitable to humanity, but whether it was consistent with the interests of the Church; and when the answer was necessarily in the negative, there was but one course to pursue, and that was to silence, by every means that could be employed, the further advocacy of the obnoxious system. In places completely under the range of Roman domination, it was not difficult to effect this purpose, either by the numerous arts at the command of the Church, or by open dictation and violence. But in provinces a little removed from the direct influence of this tyranny, more cautious methods were to be employed. There the arguments of truth and reason had to be met by answers which bore the semblance of fairness; and if any other means of victory might be used, they were to be gathered, not from the insolence of arbitrary authority, but from the apparent indignation of honest minds, afflicted at the sight of disloyalty, schism, heresy, or by whatever name they might choose to describe opposition to the corruptions of a cruel and superstitious church.

The Capuchins were at this period the most ready of all the monastic orders to take upon themselves the refutation of the protestant pastors in the Valteline, and the bordering districts of Italy. They went forth to the conflict armed at all points with zeal and intolerant prejudices, resolved at any expense to silence their adversaries, and only anxious to persuade their hearers, that to desire more of truth than the Church had

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hitherto taught them, was to commit little less than treason against heaven. Unaccustomed to judge of evidence, or to exercise inquiry, the majority of those who listened to these daring advocates of error had nothing to oppose to their assertions; and it therefore frequently happened that after some monk, more eloquent than the rest, had finished his harangue, the multitude would rush upon the supposed heretics, and inflict whatever injuries their sudden fury might suggest. The arts of calumny were employed with still greater and more lasting effect against the ministers of the gospel; and whenever any monk seemed inclined to speak with more moderation than his brethren on the subject of the new opinions and their professors, he was compelled, by threats and violence, to declare that he had been guilty of falsehood. In a letter to Bullinger, it is said, "The gospel is striking its roots deep in the Valteline, and in some parts of our neighbourhood Christ is sought and received more gladly than ever before, though many are sufficiently wanting in discretion. But you might break them as a potter's vessel. See, then, what the iniquity of Rome dares and attempts! A certain monkish inquisitor has been sent hither. He has been some days past with our bishop. Great things were expected from him, and we were threatened with destruction. It was our wish to have some discourse with him, but could not obtain the favour. The monk seemed to be kept for more important purposes. At length, by the great and wonderful agreement of our confederacy, the bishop was obliged to dismiss him."

On his journey the monk, it is said, preached, and declared, "that the mass was instituted by Christ and the Apostles." This was bold and definite. The evangelical teachers assailed him, and brought his statement to the test of scripture. He was then obliged to confess that the mass did not rest upon Christ or the Apostles, or on the declarations of scripture, but that it had been instituted by councils, confirmed by the approbation of holy men, and observed by the fathers; wherefore it ought to be received as good. This confession satisfied the reformers, and the monk was allowed to depart

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without further questioning. But his own party heard with indignation that he had yielded such an important point in the dispute. He was overwhelmed with abuse, and, instead of receiving the praise which he expected, had to make his retreat from the district as a weak and miserable traitor to his cause.*

But frequent as were the proofs given by the reformers of the force of their arguments, the monks did not shrink from repeating the experiment which had so often proved the error of their doctrines. Angoliz, a Dominican, challenged an appeal to scripture with the fierce and daring assertion, that all who refused to acknowledge the mass were most diabolical heretics, and that the wives of those who did not celebrate it were harlots, nay, worse than the worst of that class.† The violences which daily followed from these encounters of the hostile parties, taught the more prudent members of the community to dread the speedy decay of all religion, unless something could be done to allay the ferment. It was accordingly decreed by the chief men of the Valteline, that preachers, appointed by a fair proportion of the inhabitants of any district, should not be interrupted in the execution of their office, and that no person should be allowed to exercise the pastoral functions, or preside over grammar schools, in any part of the Valteline, without permission of the greater part of the community. But this regulation was soon seen to be employed chiefly against the evangelical teachers. The violence of the monks was traced, by circuitous channels, to the honourable zeal of those who had provoked it, and it unfortunately seemed good to the wisdom of many, to sacrifice some of the most useful of the preachers to the expediency of the hour.

The two brothers, Franciscus and Alexander Bellinchetti afforded the Rhætian confederacy an opportunity of showing its influence in a manner more honourable to the protestant party. These persons, who were natives of Bergomi, had left their country to enjoy in freedom

* De Porta Hist. Reform. Eccles. Rætic. t. II., p. 263.

† Hæc erant conciones paschales doctorum, quos Cardinales et Inquisitores ad conservationem sanctæ fidei, et conversionem hæreticorum in hæc loca emittebant, insulsas oppido et succo carentes. Ib. p. 264.

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the profession of evangelical religion. Having taken up their abode in one of the mining districts of Rhætia, they carried on a considerable trade in the produce of the place. Returning, however, for a short time, to their native city, they were seized by the Inquisition and thrown into prison. Happily for them some delay took place in the execution of the punishment customary in such cases. In the meantime the confederacy sent to demand their liberation, first, of the magistrates of Bergomi, and then of the Venetian senate. The answer returned was, that the liberation of persons detained on account of religion belonged to the supreme Pontiff. Finding that no heed was paid to other modes of address, the Rhætians at length determined to speak in the language which more properly became the indignant feelings that prevailed among them. Their message now was, that unless the brothers Bellinchetti were set at liberty, within less than a month, every member of the Dominican order in Rhætia should be banished with the utmost rigour, and the property belonging to it confiscated for the use of the poor hospitals or other pious purposes. The resolution of both the magistrates and the people was clearly understood by the Dominicans. They cordially joined, therefore, in petitioning for the release of the brothers, and to the great joy of the reformers they were set free without being exposed to any further annoyance.*

No hope could be entertained, it was said, on the part of the Romanists, that peace would be restored till that 'gospel of the devil,' the doctrine, that is, of the reformers, was fully rooted out. The advice which many therefore gave was, that the preachers lately sent from Italy might be received and heard with due respect. But too much honour existed among the chief men of the province to consent to any measure which might have the appearance of compromising their former decrees. The cause of the monks, therefore, obtained little favour at their hands. Yet, unwilling as they were to sacrifice any portion of their independence, they saw themselves constrained by circumstances to

* De Porta, p. 272.

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send from his district one of the most distinguished of the protestant preachers. Public peace appeared to demand this offering to the agitated state of feeling which now prevailed, and the senate was obliged to content itself with passing decrees whereby to defend the liberty enjoyed by the league from further or more effectual assaults.

According to the laws thus established, complete tolerance was allowed to both parties. Where there were more than one church, the Romanists were to have the first choice, and take that which best pleased them for the celebration of their worship. In places where only one existed, they were to have the use of it for such a time as might be necessary for the proper performance of their service. When this was finished, the evangelical preachers had the right of ingress, and were to be suffered to exercise their office without interruption. The celebration of the mass, or the simple communion, was protected in a similar manner; and by another law it was determined, that no monk or priest, of whatever religion he might be, should have the liberty of preaching in the Valteline till he had been first examined and approved by the ordinary; that he should not be received unless he were willing to remain at least one year in the district; and that he should give security to bear the penalty attending any injury resulting from the performance of his duties.*

At a period somewhat later than that in which this effort was made to protect the reformers in their religious rights, the magistrates passed another law whereby a certain portion of the old church revenues was set apart for their use. These, and other similar circumstances, added greatly to the hopes of the Protestants, and the congregations which they formed were strengthened every day by the addition of new members, who in many cases brought with them rich stores of learning and ability, and the ripe fruits of spiritual experience. There was consequently good reason to expect that the reformed Church in the Grisons would, in no long time, acquire a consistency and power corresponding to its

* De Porta, p. 276. This decree is dated Ilantii die xxvi. Januarii, anni 1557.

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elder sisters of Germany and Switzerland. But these hopes were not destined to be fulfilled. The immediate neighbourhood of Milan enabled the emissaries of Rome to keep a continual watch upon the proceedings of the reformers, and thereby to adapt their opposition to every change in the state and character of the rising communion. These dangers were overcome, to a great extent, by the vigour and perseverance of the excellent men who, from time to time, took the pastoral superintendence of the several congregations. But there was a power at hand for resistance to which it had no adequate means of a temporal kind, and that which could alone have supplied the deficiency, the full possession, that is, of spiritual weapons for the brunt of spiritual warfare, was still wanting. There were numerous converts to the reformed opinions, and to all appearance true professors of the gospel: there were teachers of the truth who fervently desired to establish it in the hearts of their hearers: there was a disposition on the part of the authorities of the district to aid the progress of the new opinions; but, with all this, there was a want of that unity of spirit, and vital energy of principle, running through the body of the community, which alone can render any society of human beings, whether viewed under the idea of a nation or a church, capable of effectually resisting the onset of its antagonists.

The existence of the Grison and Valteline congregations was protracted till the bigotry of Philip II. supplied the Church of Rome with the means of better executing its long and anxiously contemplated plans. A corrupt union of the political and ecclesiastical powers has ever been necessary to the entire prostration of liberty. While either the one or the other is true to the interests of humanity, they remain safe though exposed to peril. The history of the world affords ample proofs of the correctness of this statement. Happy therefore it has been, in many respects, and those most necessary to be considered, that these two powers have been placed in frequent opposition; not that good has been primarily produced thereby; but that the power of evil has been

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greatly modified and diminished. Were the spirit of truth and holiness allowed to work its will, unresisted by human folly and wickedness, the union of the two powers would effect the regeneration of every principle in the constitution of society; but while each has its portion of mingled evil, and is under the sway of selfishness, mankind have reason to rejoice, that, in seasons when corruption has attained its almost greatest triumphs over the world, the Church, however corrupt, the state, however tyrannous, has seldom been found willing to enter into combination with the other for the spoliation of their mutual victims. This however, in the instance of the Italian reformers, and some of the smaller churches of the Alpine districts, was not the case. Against them the civil and ecclesiastical authorities came armed with their united forces, and in a few years swept away nearly every trace of the good work which had been done.

It was not till a period somewhat later than that to which we have at present conducted the reader, that the roll of martyrdom was inscribed with the names most conspicuous in the annals of Italian Protestantism. But it was now that its promoters were employing their best energies in the labour set them, and that their views and characters were brought into fullest development. In this process many signs of doubtful opinion presented themselves, and it is generally acknowledged that some of the most conspicuous leaders of the reformers in Italy were infected with notions little agreeable to the simplicity of evangelical doctrine.* Of this number was Lælius Socinus who, with many others, had probably derived the elements of his theology from the unfortunate Servetus. A large number of persons professing similar notions were found at Vicentia in the year 1546, when the Venetian senate began the work of persecution, and drove the reformers of that district into banishment, putting two of the number to death by drowning. Lælius Socinus himself was among the exiles, and after various wanderings he found his way

* De Porta. Hist. Reform. Eccles. Rætic. t. II. p. 62.

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into Poland where he sowed the seeds of his heterodoxy with a zeal unhappily too successful.*

Ochino, and Cœlio Secundus Curio, have been spoken of with suspicion, though both celebrated as eminently virtuous, and distinguished for their successful exertions in the general promotion of the Reformation. The former of these celebrated men was early attached to a convent of Franciscans at Sienna, his native place; such, however, was the fervour of his desire to lead a life of the strictest holiness, that he joined the order of Capuchins, which seemed to promise him greater security against the weakness of his nature. Obeying with the sincerest devotion the rules to which he had become subject, he still thought that he would be far from godliness, and the perfection which it was his delight to seek, unless much more was done in the spirit of love and gratitude. But as in the case of so many others brought before us in the annals of these times, Ochino discovered, by the continual anxiety of his mind, that he stood in need of knowledge and means of holiness which no system at present known to him could supply. To his great consolation he found in the Scriptures intimations which gradually led him to a happier state of mind. Though full of perplexity when he first compared what was said respecting the free grace of God, and justification by faith, with his early notions of the perfection to be acquired by works, he persevered in the course of inquiry to which he had begun to devote himself, and soon obtained a view of doctrine sufficiently clear and comprehensive to convince him, that it was not in the rules of an order, or in the imposition of any species of self-discipline he could find permanent satisfaction, and that, if he could not rest without the peace which passeth understanding, he must seek it in communion with Christ, and in the pursuit of those spiritual dispositions which depend upon the working of a renewing spirit in the heart.

The creed of the Roman Church presented some fearful discrepancies when brought by Ochino under the clear light of the gospel. He saw distinctly that it

* Gerdesii, Specimen, Ital. Reform. p. 73.

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was not his own uncertain or timid views which led him to doubt of safety while endeavouring to save himself by works, but that such a notion was incompatible with a proper apprehension of the nature of God, and that it must be unsatisfactory in proportion to the increasing spirituality of the mind's perceptions. It was not till these convictions had obtained full command of his heart, that Ochino became distinguished as a preacher.* He then spoke from the fulness of his heart; spoke the language of experience, of knowledge and deep affection. His forcible demonstrations of evangelical doctrine made their way to the consciences of many who had never before understood either the object of preaching or the doctrines about which it is concerned. His popularity daily increased. At Venice he was followed by crowds of anxious hearers who manifested, as they listened to his discourses, awe and penitence, and all those other emotions which prove that, at least for the time, the preacher has found the core of the heart, and held it under the rushing streams of heavenly grace and truth.

Ochino was elected in 1538 chief of his order, and on his re-election, in 1541, obtained at Naples the same degree of popularity which he had enjoyed at Venice and in other parts of the country. It was now that he began to attract the notice of the reformers. His system of doctrine exhibited full and frequent illustrations of the three dogmas with which he started on his new career. These were, 1. That Christ afforded a plenary satisfaction for the elect, and merited paradise for them, becoming unto them righteousness and salvation: 2. That the vows of religious orders are not only vain, but wicked: and, 3. That the Roman Church, though it may have a certain external beauty and shine with much splendour in carnal eyes, is in the sight of God abominable.† He had hitherto, however, carefully concealed his sympathy with the reformers, as such,

* Bzovius says, "In tanta tum erat existimatione ut unus optimus totius Italæ concionator haberetur, ut qui admirabili quadam cum actione, tum linguæ facundia auditorum animos quocunque vellet raperet, ac tanto magis quod vita doctrinæ resonaret."—Ad an. 1542, n. 34.

† Gerdesii Syllabus Ital. Reform. p. 310.

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and the most distinguished of the Catholic clergy listened to him without any suspicion of his want of an orthodoxy like their own. But as his fervour increased, doubts were awakened respecting his attachment to the Pope,* and these were soon followed by others which concerned more nearly his doctrine and practice. The report of his proceedings sent to Rome determined the Pontiff to apprehend him. His friends gaining timely information of these movements, he received early warning of his danger, and had left his convent only a few hours when a band of horsemen surrounded the building in the expectation of making him their prisoner. Finding him gone, they pursued him on the road to Florence, which place he reached, in time to admit of his changing his dress, and eluding their search. From Florence he travelled to Geneva, and soon after joined his brethren and fellow-countrymen in the Grisons. There he exercised his ability as a preacher, to the great consolation of many who required the whole Word of God to enable them to bear the trials arising from their obedience to the faith.

The character of Ochino given by his enemies affords ample proof of the qualifications which he possessed for affecting the minds of his hearers with admiration of his eloquence. "His age," it is said, "his austere way of life, his rough Capuchin habit, his beard that hung down below his breast, his grey hair, his pale, meagre countenance, a certain appearance of infirmity and weakness, that was very artfully affected, and a general opinion of his sanctity, occasioned his being looked upon as an extraordinary man." Again: "Not only the common people but great lords and sovereign princes reverenced him as a saint. When he came to their houses they met him, and received him with all the honour and affection imaginable, and at his departure reconducted him in this manner. For his own part he made use of all the artifices possible to confirm them in their good opinion of him. In his travels he always walked on foot, and though he was infirm both as to years and

* Gerdes. Syllab. Ital. Reform. Gratianus in vita Commendoni, p. 157. Il lâcha fort adroitement dans ses sermons quelques paroles et quelques sentimens, qui tendoient à decrier ou à diminuer l'autorité du saint siege.

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constitution, he was never seen on horseback. When princes forced him to lodge with them, the magnificence of palaces, the luxury of dress, and all the pomp of the age, could never make him abate of his poverty, nor of the austerity of his profession. At feasts he never ate but of one dish, and that always the simplest and most common, and scarce ever tasted wine. He was frequently pressed to lie in soft and rich beds, for the more convenient refreshing of himself after the fatigue of his travels, but he would only spread his cloak, and lay himself down upon the ground." Of his preaching it is said, "We may justly allow he had some knowledge, but he applied himself more to eloquence, and the beauty of words, than to learning and the force of reasoning. He understood little of Latin, but when he spoke in his mother tongue, he explained himself with so much grace, politeness and fluency, that the softness and purity of his discourses ravished all his hearers. When he was to preach any where, the people flocked thither; whole cities came to hear him: there was no church large enough to contain the multitude. The women were generally more numerous than the men. When he was to pass through any city, an infinite number of people went to meet him and receive his instructions."*

Cœlio Secundus Curio was equally distinguished for his ability and successful labours in the cause of the Reformation among his countrymen. He had been made acquainted with the Scriptures in early youth, having been led to the study by the mere circumstance of possessing a copy left him by his father's will, and remarkable for the beauty of the text in which it was written. So wonderfully does God employ the simplest means to bring his servants to the knowledge of the truth; and of such weighty importance it evidently is, that the Scriptures should be within men's reach, and that even the slightest circumstances which concern them ought not to be regarded with indifference.† Cœlio was happy, moreover, in being well imbued with the knowledge of God's Word before the name of Luther

* Bayle, Art. Ochinus, Anton. Mar. Gratiani. Hist. of Commendon. lib. II., c. ix.

† On the Satisfaction of Christ, De Porta t. II., 392., and Syllabus, p. 302.

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or Zuingle had reached his ears. He sought it because it excited his interest, and had a claim to attention, which belonged to no other branch of information. The fortune left him by his parents was amply sufficient to supply him with the best instructors, and his youth was passed in the cultivation of the usual branches of a liberal and learned education.* He had reached the age of twenty, before the minds of his countrymen became generally turned to the great questions of the Reformation. Those by whom he was surrounded were among the most violent opposers of the new doctrines; and they insisted upon the justice of condemning them, though they had not yet been tried by any of the tests employed in fair inquiry. To this Cœlio opposed himself with generous ardour, and argued that, whatever might be the nature of the works alluded to, they ought certainly to be examined before they were branded with infamy. Impelled by this sentiment, and probably by natural curiosity, he eagerly sought for some of the writings of Luther and the other reformers. The works which he first read were the Treatise on Indulgences, on the Captivity of Babylon, and Zuingle's Essay on False and True Religion. Delighted with these productions, he saw that his suspicions respecting the feelings of his companions were well grounded; and, determining not to remain in a place where truth seemed to be so little honoured, he prepared to pass into Germany. Two of his friends resolved to accompany him; and they commenced their journey full of sanguine hopes that no obstacle would arise to their joining the admirable men whom they fondly regarded as the masters of true wisdom. But they had been carefully watched, and had not proceeded far on their road, when the Bishop of Ivrea apprehended them, and they were committed to close confinement. From this they were delivered, at the earnest desire of some of the influential men of the neighbourhood, to whom Cœlio's name and family were

* Schelhorn. Amœnitates Literariæ Oratio Panegyrica de Cœlii Secundi Curionis Vita atque Obitu: habita Basileæ anno 1570, in Magna Procerum et Juventutis Academiæ Basileenses Panegyri à Johan. Nicolao Stupano, Med. Doc. et Profes. t. XIV., p. 325.

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well known. The bishop expressed his high opinion of his ability, and he escaped from a danger which would have involved many in fatal perplexities.

Soon after this, Cœlio took up his abode in a monastery where he remained sufficiently long to be convinced still more strongly of the debasing nature of superstition. He deserved little praise, perhaps, for his method of reproving the monks in the practice of their errors; but his proceeding shows that he was not wanting in courage to dare much for the service of his new opinions. Having frequently seen the brothers worshipping certain relics with great devotion, and then replacing them in a closet near the altar, he determined to remove them, and supply their place with what he considered would tend far better to the edification of his hosts. Finding himself alone in the chapel, he put his plan in execution, taking away this favourite treasure of the convent, and putting into the chest which contained it a copy of the Holy Scriptures, on which he had written the inscription, "This is the ark of the covenant, whence true oracles are given forth, and in which are the genuine relics of the saints."*

It may easily be conceived that Cœlio did not consider it safe to remain in the monastery after this adventure. We next find him, after some time spent in wandering, at Milan. There his active and benevolent disposition led him to undertake numerous charitable works. His small patrimony furnished him with the means of living while thus pursuing the objects most anxiously desired. During the visitation of the plague and a famine which immediately followed, he exposed himself with undaunted resolution in the most infected quarters of the town, and expended whatever he could command for the relief of the sufferers. Such was the force of his example, that the priests allowed themselves to be persuaded by him to sacrifice their own possessions to the wants of their miserable townsmen.

His next abode was in the neighbourhood of Turin, where his company was courted by the most wealthy and accomplished of the nobility. Notwithstanding the

* Oratio, p. 334.

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dangers he had encountered in the course of his movements, he continued not only to admire, but openly to profess his esteem for the doctrines of the reformers. Being on one occasion enjoying with a party of friends the pleasures of the country, he discoursed more freely than usual on the character of the new opinions. In the midst of the conversation a monk insinuated himself into the circle, and invectives fell thick and fast from the mouth of this unexpected visitant. Cœlio asked him if he really understood the subject, and was answered with unsparing rage. On this, the books referred to were brought forth, and passages pointed out, to the monk's no small confusion, which at once convicted him of ignorance or falsehood. Some of the persons present could scarcely be restrained from using violence when they discovered the infamous deceit of the friar, and he was glad to escape with a whole skin.

But Cœlio had no cause to triumph, except as he had put to shame an advocate of error. The monk hastened to give information of what he had heard, and his adversary was soon after seized and thrown into prison. His treatment in captivity was only proper for a common felon. Heavy fetters secured his person, and he was exposed to all the miseries attached to imprisonment where the guards are tyranny and injustice. To cut off the chance of escape he was removed from the place to which he had been originally committed to another; but it so happened that, on surveying his new prison, he recollected having visited it in his boyhood, and it immediately occurred to him that it was possible to elude the vigilance of the goaler, and pass the walls. Much contrivance, however, was necessary for this purpose. The heavy fetter which bound his leg rendered every attempt at flight impossible, unless it could be removed. But he was not to be daunted by such a difficulty. Having found it necessary to desire that the iron, which had occasioned the limb to swell, might be changed from one to the other, he observed that the keeper performed this task with little attention, and hence was led to believe that if he could substitute an

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artificial foot and ankle, the fetter would be bound to it without suspicion. Ingeniously using what materials he had for the purpose, and contriving to draw up the real limb, the careless keeper fixed the iron to the stuffed leg, and Cœlio found himself at liberty to prepare for escape. His attempt was further aided by the confidence which those who were set to watch him placed in the weight of his chains. The darkness of night enabled him to put his plans in execution, and he had soon the open country before him, with freedom to pursue what course he chose.

The division of Italy into so many independent principalities rendered such an escape far more feasible than it could have been under other circumstances. After passing through several parts of the country without molestation, Cœlio took up his temporary abode at Ferrara, where he found in the duchess a kind and powerful protectress. By her he was sent to Lucca, and there obtained a professorship, the duties of which he exercised with so much success, that when rumours reached the city that the emissaries of Rome were on the watch to apprehend him, the students formed themselves into a guard, and regularly attended him, at the close of his lectures, to a place of safety. But the danger at last became too great to be warded off by the care of his affectionate scholars. He therefore retired to Lausanne. Having found a settlement in that town, he ventured, after some time, to return to Italy for his family. He had reason to hope that the affair of his escape had long ceased to be considered worthy of notice, and that he might perform his journey without danger. But on reaching some obscure town on the road, his appearance attracted the observation of persons who thought it becoming their zeal to give immediate information to the neighbouring officers of the Inquisition. He had just begun his dinner when the house was surrounded by guards, and the inquisitor entered the room in which he was sitting. He saw that resistance was vain, and rising from his seat approached the officer, to submit himself to his will. But, in the surprise of the moment, he had kept hold of the carving-knife, and

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being of tall, commanding stature, his appearance with this supposed weapon in his hand was well calculated to excite some alarm. The functionary who expected an attack, which Cœlio had never for a moment meditated, hastily retreated to a corner of the room, and fell on the floor panic-struck at the prospect of being speedily despatched. Cœlio had too much presence of mind not to take advantage of the moment. Assuming, therefore, an appearance of unconcern, he quietly walked to the door of the inn, and giving the men, who stood expecting the return of their officer with the prisoner, the ordinary salute, passed through them unmolested. Hastening with all speed across the country, he had fled far enough to escape immediate detection, when a dreadful tempest arose, and baffled the efforts of the inquisitors to press the pursuit. After this Cœlio retured to Switzerland, whence he visited Poland and England, making his final abode at Basil. In this city he was highly valued for his genius and piety; but he fell into some suspicion of heterodoxy,* and had to de-

* One of the causes of these suspicions was the publication of his Dialogue, De Amplitudine Regni Dei, where he says, Quanquam difficile est affirmare, tamen illud mihi videor posse non absurde dicere: si qui inter illos naturæ legem servarunt, aut etiam nunc servant: si unum Deum coluerunt: si alteri non fecerunt, quod sibi factum nollent, aut factum doluerunt, idem de eis sentio, quod de iis, qui non solum ante Christi adventum, verum etiam ante latam a Mose legem in Dei metu vixerunt. Fuerunt enim illi Deo semper chari et accepti, quemadmodum Petrus in Actis testatur: cujusmodi fuit Abimelechus, Melchisedechus, Jetro, Jobus, amicique ejus quatuor: tum Hiramus Tyriorum, qui Salomonis tempore floruit: Saba Ethiopum regina, et Cyrus et Darius Persarum reges, et nato Christo Domino Magi, quorum mentionem facit sacra historia: aliique ut verisimile est, innumerabiles in toto terrarum orbe, quorum nulla extat sacris literis prodita memoria. Fuit enim hæc veterum sententia, quam etiam consignatam literis cum alii, tum Origenes in Joannem, et Clemens Alexander, in oratione ad gentes reliquerunt. Is enim in exoratione ad gentes: qui verbum non accepit auditione, ei venia danda propter ignorantiam. Nam quomodo credent ei, ut ait Apostolus, de quo non audierunt? Non est autem iniquus Deus, ut quemquam indicta causa condemnare velit. Qui auditis Christi legatis gratiam oblatam rejiciunt, condemnantur, non qui edocti non fuerunt. Sic enim Dominus ipse sanxit: ite inquit, Evangelium prædicate, docete omnes gentes. Qui crediderit et ablutus fuerit, salvus erit, qui non crediderit, condemnabitur. Hæc regis nostri lex est, æquissimaque sententia: ut quemadmodum audito Evangelio qui crediderit, conservatur, sic qui audito Evangelio non crediderit, condemnetur. Ex quo sequitur, per Evangelium non condemnari, qui Evangelium non prius audierit: quod si qui condemnantur, idcirco id fit, quod legem naturæ, testemque et judicem conscientiam contempserint, per quam judicabuntur, ut Paulus ad Romanos diserte docet..... Potuit et hodie etiam potest quosdam per cœlestes genios de Christo docere: potest

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fend himself against the charges of Vergerio, and other distinguished members of the Protestant Church.*

Cœlio's life was spent in the endurance of troubles created solely by his attachment to the reformed doctrines. For these he sacrificed his fortune, his relations taking advantage of his absence to claim his estate; and in the same cause he repeatedly exposed himself to the hazard of ending his life in a dungeon or on the scaffold. He may, therefore, well be reckoned among the champions of truth; but there does not seem to be evidence of his having exhibited those deep and sanctifying graces of evangelical faith, conspicuous in many of the more eminent men of these times. The suspicion attached to his opinions is generally stated in the history of the period. It is further supported by the circumstance of his having visited Poland, and been highly popular among those who promoted the new doctrines in that country. Socinianism, it is well known, found there its most fruitful soil, and it would be difficult to imagine that any of those admirable divines, to whose labours the Reformation owed its purely evangelical character, could have enjoyed there as much popularity and success as are said to have attended Cœlio. But the age in which he lived was one of stern inquiry; the rules employed in judging of faith and orthodoxy admitted of no exceptions, and hardly of modification. This is a characteristic of the state of feeling in the early stages of the Reformation not to be lost sight of. It had the effect of creating some disputes, marked by no slight degree of bitterness, within the circle of those who rank high as the friends of religious freedom and purity. But

etiam in remotissimis gentibus spiritu suo quosdam excitare et mittere, qui alios erudiant: potest etiam ipse intus suos ad se cognoscendum illustrare: neminem enim unquam sui expertem divina bonitas relinquit: in ipso enim vivimus, et movemus, et sumus, ut Paulus Athenis prædicabat.—Amœnitates Lit. t. XII., p. 597.

* Trusting that his accusers would examine his works generally, he says, "Quod si, ut spero, feceritis, invenietis me in iis, quæ ad salutem per Christum Dominum consequendam pertinent, nihil ab apostolica doctrina, nihil a vestra confessione prorsus dissentire. Quod si aliquid aliud præter necessaria religionis capita in meis scriptis forte invenietis, quod aliquantum a communi hominum opinione discedere videatur, id a me in utramque partem disputandi causâ, non definiendi aut statuendi scriptum esse testor. —Apologia, p. 604. See also Tiraboschi, t. VII., lib. iii., p. 1554.

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much as these contentions were to be lamented in themselves, and in many of their consequences, in other respects they produced the salutary effects to be looked for from the careful separation of discordant principles, an operation which, though it ought not, perhaps, to be compared to the sifting of the wheat from the chaff, is very analagous to the separating of different kinds of grain, and placing them in distinct heaps, lest being mixed in the sowing they might fail to produce the expected harvests. Each set of principles became by this means clearly understood. Time was given for their individual development, and in distant periods, the right and the wrong having acquired their full growth far apart from each other, few only of the dangers had to be encountered which would otherwise have been propagated from these seasons of moral and spiritual agitation.

The pious martyr, John Mollio, bore noble testimony to the Protestant cause in Italy. He, like most of his brethren, had been educated as a monk; but the leisure and retirement of his monastery had happily afforded him the means of cultivating a mind naturally fitted for making great acquisitions in learning and philosophy. Led to the study of the Scriptures, he found in them the species of knowledge on which he could rest with the deepest and most permanent satisfaction. To them, therefore, he devoted the best energies of his intellect; and, aided by divine grace, he drew from their pages the materials of that pure confession for which he so readily suffered. The fame of his ability as a scholar kept pace with the advancement of his religious views. He was successively professor in many of the most celebrated academies of Italy, and in the year 1533 obtained a chair in the university of Bologna. There he began a course of lectures, in which he introduced many of the topics to which his attention had been directed in his private study of the Scriptures, and which were now by the Lutheran controversy rendered necessary to every proper treatment of theology, whatever the sentiments of the professor. The first to accuse him of heresy was his fellow-lecturer, Cornelio,

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who, in his department of metaphysics, seized upon some of his statements as adverse to the principles which his scholastic system taught him to consider as the only bulwarks of the true faith. Mollio challenged him to a public disputation on the subject, and succeeded in making good his argument against all the sophistries of his adversary. But Cornelio, not rendered more placable by defeat, took advantage of the opinions advanced in the course of the debate to cite Mollio to Rome, and place him in the hands of judges from whom he trusted he would not easily escape. The consequence, however, of this measure was not such as he expected. Mollio had considered his subject with not less care than ability, and, when put upon his defence, so clearly expounded his views, and proved them by arguments so full and irrefragable, that the judges confessed he had not erred in the doctrines taught, but only in the choice of themes which could not, in the present juncture of affairs, be propounded without danger to the Church.

Mollio returned to Bologna, little inclined to admit the propriety of reasoning, which rested on the notion, that it was better to conceal the most important doctrines of the gospel than run the hazard of disturbing people's belief in the infallibility of the Roman see. He therefore resumed his lectures, and continued to speak with the same freedom as before on the grand principles of justification by faith, and other points which he now regarded as essential to every system of divinity that could lay claim to be derived from the Word of God. The most profound attention was given to his lectures. His eloquence and known piety were of themselves sufficient to secure respect; but his late citation to Rome, and the triumph which he had gained, added considerably to his popularity; and of all these things he took advantage to press, with more and more earnestness, the importance of spiritual truth on the minds of his auditors. The influence he enjoyed now began to create great alarm among the devoted friends of Rome. It was feared that the students and people of Bologna would be altogether carried away by their

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attachment to this evangelical lecturer. Campeggio clearly understood the danger that attended such a state of feeling, and, at his instance, Mollio was ordered to resign his professorship and leave the city.

Obliged to retire, but with no distinct charge against him, Mollio found a new sphere of usefulness at Naples, where, united with Ochino and Peter Martyr,* he assisted in making known the gospel to vast numbers of the people. It was as reader in the monastery of San Lorenzo that he enjoyed the opportunity of furthering the interests of the Reformation. In this situation he remained till the persecution against the Lutherans obliged his friends to desert their post, and left him with scarcely a hope of escaping the vengeance of the papal emissaries. At length the hour arrived when his faith was to be put to its last fearful trial. Apprehended at Ravenna, he was hastily sent to Rome, and immediately thrown into a dungeon. While he lay in prison, many efforts were made to induce him to recant; but he remained calm and immovable. Certain cardinals and bishops were accordingly appointed to try him. The formality took place in the church of Santa Maria di Minerva, and several other prisoners were brought before the tribunal on the same charge as Mollio. Each bore a lighted torch in his hand, and every art was employed to give solemnity to the scene. Terror seized the hearts of the unfortunate captives, who had not by long thought, or by the wondrous efficacy of faith, been prepared for the trial. With the exception of Mollio and a single companion, Tisserano of Perugia, the whole of the accused yielded to the horror of their situation, and signed a recantation. The two who remained firm were subjected to a long and severe examination; but, when Mollio obtained permission to address the judges, he declared in the simplest language whatever he had taught, and in what

* Martyr had enjoyed from the first the protection of John Valdes, the Spanish minister at Naples. Giannone says, that he was the principal instrument employed by Mollio in diffusing his opinions; not only because he was well acquainted with the new doctrines, and had studied much the epistles of St. Paul, but because he was connected with a great number of Neapolitan noblemen and gentlemen.—Gerdes. Specimen Ital. Reform., p. 105.

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respects he stood opposed to the received doctrines of the Roman Church. When he had thus explained the nature of his opinions, he spoke more particularly respecting the Pope and the ecclesiastical dignities of those by whom he was tried. The former he boldly designated as the Antichrist of Scripture, and, addressing himself directly to the latter, he said, "And you, O cardinals and bishops, gladly would I acknowledge your authority were you worthy of the offices you assume. But were your authority that of the Apostles, your lives and character would be apostolical. Who now can believe you to be the successors of those holy men, or the vicars of Jesus Christ, or can refrain from regarding you as members of Antichrist and children of the devil? I appeal, then, from your judgment to the judgment of the Lord; and I adjure you by his name to meet me before his tribunal at the last day." Thus saying, he flung the lighted torch which he bore upon the ground; and its extinguished flame seemed to predict the coming humiliation of that terrible tyranny which had so long kept the gospel from its free course through the world. Undaunted by the fierce murmur of resentment which followed this bold outbreak of Christian indignation, Tisserano declared his entire assent to that which had fallen from the lips of his fellow-confessor. Time only was allowed for the bare profession of these sentiments. The prisoners were hurried to the place of execution, and, having been first strangled, were immediately committed to the flames.*

Mollio was only one of many in Italy who now rejoicingly sealed the testimony of love to Christ with their blood. It was the season of trial for the evangelical party throughout Italy. Charles V. had permitted Rome and the Inquisition to exercise their worst influence in his kingdom of Naples; and Venice, Milan, with all the provinces which properly belonged to the dominion of the Pope, were already well prepared to use their power in the crushing of the new opinions.

* Hist. des Martyrs, p. 264. Mollio had been more than once in prison before his final apprehension. His martyrdom took place in September, 1553. —Gerdes. Ital. Reform., p. 104.

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Julius III. and Paul IV. were both unsparing persecutors of the reformers. The latter did not scruple to declare, that if either Emperors or Kings were found guilty of heresy, he would at once confiscate their possessions. At his death, he commended the Inquisition to the cardinals* as the most valuable safeguard of the Church, and the best defence to the purity of catholic doctrine. The cruelties practised by these Pontiffs, and the awful violations of liberty commanded by the republic of Venice, fill a melancholy chapter in the annals of Italian history. By a strange and almost unaccountable perversion of truth and freedom, not a corner of the country was left, at the end of about thirty years, after the first publication of the reformed opinions among some few of its inhabitants, where the mention of evangelical doctrine was not followed by immediate ruin.

However this procedure against the rights of conscience may astonish us, when viewed under any degree of light, or tested by the notions of justice common to every country fairly governed, and subject to the ordinary influence of educated opinion, the feelings are excited in a far less painful manner at the conduct of Rome (the very life of whose power depended on this system) than at that of Venice, which boasted of its liberty and consistent defence of the proper dignity of its people. Rome did not pretend to leave its subjects in the enjoyment of their privileges as inquiring and thoughtful beings. When they violated its laws, therefore, they could not assert that they were unexpectedly punished for daring to think freely, or appeal to an authority superior to that of their rulers. The subjects of the Emperor might be answered in similar language. They knew little of the constitutional rights spoken of in later times. The will of the monarch had been to them from childhood the highest

* Raynaldi, An. 1559, n. 35, p. 43, t. xv. Ad tollendas omnes corruptelas maxime incubuerat adeo ut etiam Lutheranorum adversus Romanam Ecclesiam latrantium ora obstrueret. Cum jam fractus morbi laboribus mortem sibi instare persentiret, cardinales ad se accersivit, rogavitque, ut veniam darent, si in cogendo senatu tardior ac remissior fuisset, id affectæ valetudini ac senio adulto tribuerent, sanctissimum Inquisitionis officium, quo maxime religio asseritur, opprimunturque hæreticorum impii conatus ac insidiæ, enixe commendavit.

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test of justice and propriety. It could hardly then be made a cause of complaint when they were persecuted for adopting principles in great measure adverse to the supremacy of his power. The dispute in both these cases was to be determined at the tribunal of eternal justice. If the Pope or the Emperor was to be deprived of a portion of his arbitrary domination, and that by an appeal to reason, another volume than that of the laws was to be examined; other maxims than those of government were to be appealed to. But, in the instance of Venice, the very form and pretences of the constitution were sufficient to justify the citizens in any appeal from an arbitrary decision to the common rights of the human race; and the secret drownings of its people, their subjection to the infamous usurpations of the Pope and the Inquisition, wanted even the colouring of justice, even the meanest argument that could be advanced as an apology for persecution.

The suppression of the Reformation in Italy took place before the Council of Trent had finished its sittings.* Many a noble spirit wept over the defeat which truth had suffered, and many heroic hearts had shed their blood in its cause. The effort made was not wholly in vain. Numbers who lived and died without a name were, in this brief struggle for the gospel, brought to the knowledge of the one Mediator, Jesus Christ.

The introduction of the reformed opinions into Spain was the immediate consequence of the frequent intercourse between that country and Germany. A vigilance of unrivalled activity had long characterized the Church of Spain in the defence of orthodoxy. In the earliest periods of its history councils were held to defend it against the slightest approaches of heresy; and its clergy were authorized by successive monarchs to charge the state with the onerous duty of punishing its enemies. But the fearful severities which this system of defence employed in its maturer stages, indicate a state of things in which there must have been much cause for

* Omnem vero fidem excedit, quod in Calabria, an. 1560, d. xi. Junii uno die octoginta et octo martyres sanguinolento cultro, ut ita loquamur, fuerunt mactati.—Gerdes. p. 132.

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apprehension. The most jealous and tyrannical of rulers is rarely sufficiently confident in his strength to provoke the dangers attendant upon cruelty, till he suspect the approach of perils which, it is supposed, can only be vanquished by the arm of vengeance. We might conclude, therefore, even without more direct evidence, that the Church of Spain had frequent reason to apprehend the open or secret hostilities of different parties in the country. A people imperfectly converted, like the Moors and Jews, who, after many hardships and sufferings, had partially submitted to the Church, are commonly found to bring with them a train of evils not before experienced. Their intercourse with the society to which they have been thus weakly joined, opens the way for questionings and discussions little calculated to improve the popular mind, or strengthen its convictions that the judgments on which it had been disposed to rest ought to be regarded as infallible.* Hence the In-

* "As to the antient Spanish Church, after having made as narrow and impartial a search into her antiquities as I was able, I am persuaded two things relating to that Church may be clearly made out. The first is, that before the eighth century the Bishop of Rome had no jurisdiction or authority in the Spanish Church. The second is, that when the Bishop of Rome did, in the beginning of the eighth century, first attempt to introduce his supremacy into Spain, that supremacy was rejected and condemned by the Spanish Church in a council of all her bishops.... Between the year of our Lord 324, when the council of Eliberis was celebrated in Spain, and the year 694, when the seventeenth council of Toledo was celebrated there, no fewer than *forty ecclesiastical synods, national* or *provincial*, were assembled in the Spanish Church. .... In all those councils, matters relating either to *faith* or to the *discipline* of the Church were handled and decreed, and *heresies* and *heretics* were condemned; and, in a word, all things were done in them that were judged to be necessary to the security and advancement of true religion and good manners in Spain. And was it possible when all these councils did meet and act thus, that the Roman supremacy, had it then been owned by that Church, should not on so many and so great occasions have made some discovery of its authority by its exercise? First, it is plain, from the authentic acts of those councils, that none of them were called by the Bishop of Rome. Secondly, that the Bishop of Rome had no person in them to represent him. Thirdly, that none of the decrees of those councils, concerning either faith or discipline, were ever confirmed by the Bishop of Rome; nor was the bishop's approbation and confirmation of them ever desired. Fourthly, at the end of most of those councils, there is a relation of thanks, as it is called, in which solemn thanks are returned to God, and to the King, by whom they were assembled, for their good success, in none of which thanksgivings is he so much as once named. Lastly, in all those councils the Bishop of Rome is not mentioned often, and never with any intimation of his having any authority in them. And farther, though there were divers canons made, concerning the hierarchy of the Church, by several of those councils, there is not the least mention of the papal supremacy in any of those canons.—Dr. Geddes on the Papal Supremacy, Tracts, vol. II., pp. 19–24.

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quisition, and the accompanying system of pains and penalties, which at first chiefly contemplated the recreants of another race, soon began to be employed as a necessary part of ecclesiastical machinery against many members of the Church, born and nourished in its bosom, but now of doubtful character.

Strict, therefore, as was the system of discipline in Spain, and fully sufficient as it might have been supposed to guard the Church against the invasions of Protestantism, there was not, in reality, such an insuperable difficulty to the introduction of new views among its people as we should at first sight imagine. There were already many minds sufficiently awake to existing corruptions to listen with gladness to any report of reformation; and the secresy which it was necessary to observe in brooding over hopes of this kind only served to unite those who entertained them in firmer bonds of amity.

The rudiments of those doctrines on which the Reformation was established were known in Spain, as they must have been in every country, to a certain extent, where there existed men of intelligence and virtuous feeling. Its Church, tyrannous as it was in the exercise of its own authority, often disputed with Rome in a spirit of bold independence. But the scattered rays of light which might be seen striving with the darkness, as first one and then another class of religious sentiment prevailed, had no common centre. The men who could best appreciate the value of the Church's independence, as bearing on the great interests of religion, had little sympathy with those who only studied the subject in relation to the Church itself; while neither the one party nor the other were likely to find associates among those who simply felt in the retirement of their homes the hunger and thirst after righteousness which the gospel was required to satisfy. It needed, therefore, the preaching of evangelical religion, purely and directly, to produce any definite change in the state of Spain, or to gather into one such of its people as were too sensible of the miseries and degradation attending spiritual bondage.

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Intelligence of Luther's proceedings was conveyed to Spain by some of the gentlemen belonging to the court of the Emperor. The books of the reformer were soon after introduced by a similar channel, and in a short time they obtained the attention of many inquiring minds, which had otherwise, it is probable, remained simply passive, though discontented, under the papal system. An allusion is made by Pallavicino to this circumstance, which shows that the existence of so many descendants of the old Moors and Jews among the catholics of Spain was now beginning to be regarded in the light in which it has been represented above.* But the connection which the Netherland provinces formed between Spain and the countries where the reformed doctrines prevailed, speedily removed distinctions of this kind. Merchants are prepared by the circumstances of their profession to set at nought most of the feelings which interfere with the general communion of one class of mankind with another. This may be in many cases for evil, rather than for good; but in the present instance it rendered powerful aid to the Protestant cause. Books were printed at Antwerp, and easily circulated through the mother country by the instrumentality of trade. The existence of different races in Spain and its dependencies would greatly facilitate this communication of intelligence respecting the rise of a new system. But the spirit of commerce had a yet more extensive influence. It beheld every thing under a stronger light, taught men to weigh proposals, study evidence, try characters, and examine securities. The extension and active prosecution of trade is essentially opposed to the continuance of the power claimed by a corrupt religion. Though it may not make any visible approach to the overthrow of ecclesiastical tyranny, yet it will by degrees expose it to so many

* Having praised the Spanish nobles not only ecclesiastic but temporal, and the Duke of Alva, especially, who was, he says, at the mention of the heretics, carried out of himself by the impulse of piety, he remarks that a very different mind prevailed in the Spanish merchants, aliisque Maurorum stirpe prognatis. Hi namque palam pro Luthero loquebantur, cujus opera Hispanicè reddita Antwerpiæ jam fuerant impressa.—Hist. Conc. Trident., lib. i., c. xxiv., p. 38.

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antagonist forces, that either the one or the other—the life and vigour of commerce, or the power of superstition—must exist at last supreme and alone. Spain was indebted for its first hope of a purer faith, and the enjoyment of religious liberty, to the example and noble efforts of such of her natives as had the resolution to listen to the truth in other lands. Had they been allowed to bear the knowledge thus acquired, like a new and rich treasure, into the heart of the kingdom, and to show its worth, submitting it to all fair tests, the Reformation would have been planted in Spain without its having to encounter any of those insuperable difficulties which, according to human calculation, it had necessarily to contend with in the states of Italy.

Accounts were sent to Spain of the state of religion in Germany, as matter of intelligence, to communicate which was considered neither criminal nor dangerous. The loose sentiments which Charles V. was known to entertain respecting the Pope favoured this opinion of the innocence of such communications. It was easy for both writers and readers to view Luther as aiming at nothing more than the chastisement of the Pope's ambition and avarice. This the Emperor himself was sufficiently inclined to attempt; and for some time, therefore, the plainest and most striking truths might be circulated, without danger to their authors, through the whole of his extensive dominions. Men of learning and ability are soon engaged in disputes of this kind, even though they feel little interest in the diffusion of spiritual knowledge, as such. The heavy bondage under which the power of Rome had long held the human mind became hateful in proportion as its overthrow seemed near or possible. Hence it is said by a cotemporary, that while in earlier times the greater number of persons executed for heresy were of low station, the prisons and scaffolds of the Inquisition now began to be filled with members of the most illustrious families in the kingdom. This fact has been ascribed to the zeal which induced the rulers of Spain to send its divines and men of genius into Germany and England, with the design of bringing back those countries

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to communion with Rome. "But such was their misfortune," it is added, "that, instead of reaping fruit by that diligence, the preachers thus sent to give light to others returned home blind themselves; and having been deceived, or possessed with the ambition of being esteemed learned, and of having improved themselves in those foreign countries, they followed the example of the heretics who had broached heresy in them." In the same manner it is stated, that numerous prisoners in the dungeons of the Inquisition at Valladolid, Seville, and Toledo, were persons of high ability and character. "I shall here pass their names in silence," says the Spanish writer, "that I may not by their bad fame stain the honour of their ancestors, and the nobility of the several illustrious families which were infected with this poison. And as those prisoners were persons thus qualified, so their number was so great, that had the stop which was put to that evil been delayed but two or three months longer, I am persuaded all Spain had been put in a flame by them."* Paramus, an inquisitor himself, acknowledges the same fact, and observes, that unless the members of his office "had taken care in time to put a stop to the protestant preachers, the Protestant religion would have run through Spain like wildfire; people of all degrees, and of both sexes, having been wonderfully disposed to embrace it." †

The state of Christianity in Spain, at the commencement of the Reformation, is forcibly illustrated by the methods employed at this period to convert such of the Jews and Moors as remained firm in the profession of their own religions. It is said to have affected Ferdinand and Isabel with great distress, that several years passed away after the conquest of Grenada without producing any disposition on the part of the Moors to embrace the gospel. Ximenes was charged with the duty of attempting their conversion, and the eloquence of the cardinal, combined with rich presents, had no small influence on the minds of many of the Moors. Some of the most

* Dr. Geddes: Preface to Spanish Protestant Martyrology. Tracts, vol. I., p. 448.

† Ib. p. 450.

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powerful of their leaders yielded to the attractions of the cardinal's gold. An entrance was thus made into the strong-holds of the people's faith; but many of the nobles still exhibited an honourable resolution not to be bribed. Among these was the celebrated Zagri, a soldier of great reputation, and whose boast it was that he had fought hand to hand with the famous general, Gonzalo. When Ximenes found that neither offers of wealth nor persuasion would induce the Moor to renounce his faith, he determined to pursue another method. Zagri was seized and thrown into a gloomy dungeon, under the guardianship of one of the cardinal's chaplains, called Leoni, a man whose savage disposition accorded fully with his name. After some days, Zagri expressed a wish to see the archbishop, and being admitted to his presence, he requested that his irons might be removed, when he would state what had occurred. Being freed from his fetters, he stated, that he had been commanded in a dream the preceding night to become a Christian, adding, with a satirical smile, that he should be a fool to require any further arguments than those which had been so well urged by that terrible Lion, into whose keeping he had been committed. "Let the rest of my countrymen be consigned to him for only as many days as myself, and I will undertake they shall be converted to Christianity." *

The methods pursued by Ximenes would have led, it is supposed, to the conversion of the Moors in greater numbers, but for the imprudence of the priests to whom he was obliged to commit the execution of his plans. Fifty thousand had already received baptism, and the disappearance of the rest enabled Ferdinand and Isabella to proclaim, in 1501, that the kingdom of Grenada was clear of infidels.† So little cause, however, had Christianity to triumph at this announcement, that most of those who had saved themselves by a supposed conversion soon returned to the observance of their old religion, and thus served no other purpose but that of

* History of the Expulsion of the Moors out of Spain, p. 11, Tracts, vol. I.

† Llorente Histoire Critique de l'Inquisition, t. I., p. 335.

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satisfying the savage hunger of the Inquisition. The enormities practised against this unfortunate people were only to be equalled by the sufferings of the Jews. In both cases, the confiscation of goods and the infliction of bodily torture were employed with merciless and indiscriminate fury. The name of Christian, the sign of baptism, seemed only given to excite against those on whom they had been imposed the worst enemies of humanity. Truth and holiness beheld the sacred mystery of conversion scorned and shuddered at as involving the horrors of a shameful death. The real repentance of disbelievers became almost impossible—a thing not to be expected for generations. To look to the gospel, as represented in the acts of the persecutors, was inconsistent with the awakening of any of those feelings which accompany the desire of knowing God. Deceit and malice, pride, wrath and cupidity, were the characteristics most conspicuous in its present disciples, and the force with which old associations retain possession of the heart had altogether to be overcome before the Moor or the Jew could become a Christian in Spain.

Such was the state of things when the opinions of Luther, becoming generally known in the country, raised a new order of victims for the Inquisition, but not till they had threatened the Church with what it most dreaded, an influx of healthy and purifying opinion. It is conjectured that the first converts to Lutheranism in Spain were Franciscan monks. This opinion is founded on the existence of a bull issued by Clement VII., in May 1526, and in which he gives authority to the general and provincials of the order to absolve such of their brethren as had embraced the new doctrines, but were now ready to repent and seek forgiveness. That the principles of the Reformation had somewhere exhibited themselves to an alarming extent is still more evident from the edict of the Inquisition, which commanded every inhabitant of the country not only to denounce the known heretic, but to declare if he had heard it even whispered that any one had stated, or thought, that the heresy of Luther was good, or that his partisans were in the right way. Virves, alluding to

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these proceedings, said, in 1534, "We live in difficult times. It is impossible either to speak or to be silent without danger"

Among the eminent men of this period who strove, according to their means and strength, to rouse the minds of their countrymen to higher views of religion, were John d'Avila and the above Alphonso Virves. The former of these had spent many years in preaching the gospel, and so highly was he esteemed for the success which attended his ministry, that he has been called the apostle of Andalusia. His addresses were distinguished for their simple and deep-toned spirituality, and as he had just reached the age of seventy, the experience of years added considerably to the authority and pathos of his preaching. The importance of the pure Word of God became proportionably more manifest as his earnestness increased, and when his whole heart was occupied with the desire of convincing men of sin, and leading them to the only means of salvation, it was scarcely possible that he should not speak a language little in accordance with the usual style of preaching in his day. Such a character could not escape suspicion. He was accordingly strictly watched, and his doctrines were represented to the Inquisition as Lutheran. This was quickly followed by his apprehension, and the venerable old man had to undergo the miseries of a gloomy imprisonment, and to bear the, perhaps worse, torture of being questioned as to the subject of his discourses, well knowing that his danger would be increased according to the clearness of his statements and the manifest spirituality of his doctrines. His ruin would have been inevitable but for the general esteem in which he was held by many persons high in authority. An appeal on the subject of his apprehension was made to the Pope, and the heads of the Inquisition soon found it expedient to order his liberation.

Alphonso Virves occupied the conspicuous situation of chaplain to the Emperor. A Benedictine by profession, he possessed, in an eminent degree, the better qualities of his strict and learned order. His merits as a preacher are said to have been of the highest class, and this

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report of his talent is confirmed by the fact, that Charles V. refused to let the pulpit be taken by any other divine when he could be present at the service. The intercourse, however, into which Virves was led with the reformers, during his stay in Germany, had a perceptible influence on his opinions. Though retaining the doctrines of his Church without diminution, and even speaking and writing against those of Luther and Melancthon, he could not escape the suspicion of having suffered from contact with their infectious creeds. That he had learnt to speak with respect and mildness of these great men, as Christians and scholars, was one of the consequences of his sojourn among them, and this would be sufficient to expose him to the bann of his jealous countrymen. Notwithstanding, therefore, his influential station, his well-known virtues and abilities, he was seized by the officers of the Inquisition, and committed to close confinement. The Emperor beheld this proceeding with proper indignation, and expressed his anger by severely chastising the members of the office to whose interference Virves owed his apprehension. But he could not demand his liberation, by a simple exercise of authority, without depriving the Inquisition of more of its power and dignity than he wished to see sacrificed. Virves was therefore left to defend himself as he best might; and four years were spent in confinement before he could persuade his persecutors that he was not worthy of death. But even then he was not allowed to leave his dungeon till he had been condemned, as one suspected of heresy, to read a public abjuration in the cathedral of Seville, and then to take up his abode for two years in a monastery. Virves was subsequently made Bishop of the Canaries; but the Pope resisted, as long as he dared venture to oppose the Emperor's will, both in respect to this appointment, and the shortening of the time to which his chaplain had been committed to the convent. Virves seems to have lost none of his early feelings respecting Protestantism by this shameful persecution, but to have entertained, to the end of his days, the strongest indignation at the recollection of the evils he had suffered.

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Valdes, the private secretary of Charles V., and who had been among the first to convey intelligence to his countrymen respecting the Reformation in Germany, was still more decidedly in favour of its principles. He even undertook to mediate between the Emperor and the chief men of the party, and, at the desire of the latter, spent some time in examining the original draft of the Confession of Augsburg. Information respecting these circumstances was carefully conveyed to Spain, and Valdes, on his return, was arraigned before the tribunal of the Inquisition, and condemned on the suspicion of heresy. But of much greater interest is the record left of the labours and sufferings of Egidius. This excellent man was one of the most distinguished of scholastic divines. His learning had raised him to the professorship of theology at Siguenza, and in that situation he exhibited the admirable talents which had already rendered him conspicuous among the first scholars of the university of Alcala. The principal canonship of the cathedral of Seville was the next step in his progress, and his appointment to this office imposed on him the necessity of constant preaching. Nothing, it is said, could be more discouraging than the result of his efforts in this new capacity. His topics were ill chosen, and his language dry and unimpressive. The people could not be persuaded to listen to him patiently, however much they respected his high character as a scholar. He soon discovered that he was not only unpopular but much wanting in usefulness; and his position became as painful as, in respect to dignity, it was honourable and influential.

At the juncture, when Egidius was meditating a retirement from this his important but distressing situation, he fell into conversation with Madrigo Valer, a private gentleman, who had imbibed the doctrines of the gospel, and soon after sacrificed his property and liberty to its cause. This amiable man failed not to speak plainly to Egidius respecting his want of success as a preacher. He pointed out to him the cause of his unpopularity, and finally intreated him to discourse to the people on those subjects which immediately concerned

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their conversion to holiness. Egidius listened to these exhortations with patience, and allowed himself to be convinced that the unprofitableness of his ministry arose from the causes pointed out to him by Valer. But it required no slight effort to change a style formed by long habit, and rendered still more necessary by the very character of the subjects most familiar to the preacher's mind. That the change was effected, affords an excellent proof of the genuine piety of Egidius. Not only had he to expose himself to the danger of losing his life, by adopting the course proposed, but to cast aside whatever had furnished him, from his youth upward, with the means of seeking distinction among men of his particular intellectual constitution. We read, with a feeling of joyful thankfulness, that the labour was not undertaken in vain. His preaching soon began to awaken the hearts of the people who had before remained dull and careless under his most laboured addresses. He now spoke to them of repentance in a manner which convinced them of their ingratitude to God, and of the danger attending iniquity. When he preached respecting faith, they learnt to estimate its value, and to desire the grace whereby it is conceived in the heart; and if he sought to convince them of the love of Christ, of the greatness of his mercy towards penitents, they felt themselves constrained, by fervent and contrite gratitude, to yield themselves to his yoke, and own the worth of his sacrifice.

The attention of the clergy of Seville was quickly drawn to the discourses of Egidius. They were startled at finding such an alteration of manner, and such a change in the tone of his sentiments and the nature of his topics. Caring little about the effect of his arguments on the people, they had formerly been fully content with the reputation which he had brought from the university. This was sufficient to preserve his influence among them, and when he preached a sermon which skilfully embodied the principles of scholastic theology, they were ready to add somewhat to the praise already bestowed. But a failing in orthodoxy could be discovered by the dullest of divines in this, as it can be in every

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period of the Church's history. It requires neither learning nor ability to detect a change of tone, an increased earnestness, the introduction of expressions which tell that the heart has something to say, a closeness of application which proves that an interest altogether new has begun to occupy its thoughts. The detection of error, supposing it to exist, must be the work of minds of a certain degree of strength, of some cultivation, and habituated to inquiry; but it is not error which the generality of those who claim credit for the love of truth and consistency most commonly detect in seasons of change or revolution. They regard the simple zeal of a newly-awakened conscience in the same light as the bold spirit of innovation, and, without either the will or the power to examine the subject by fair argumentation, they gladly fasten on appearances, and, by the use of a few terms, conventional among them, condemn as heretical, or unorthodox, whatever is expressed in language not familiar to their ears.

But Egidius was not to be deterred from the holy work which he had undertaken, by the scorn or the threats of men so vastly his inferiors. He continued his labours amidst every discouragement, and was at length comforted by finding himself in the society of some few men whose principles and temper were equally in harmony with his own. Vargas and Constantine Ponce de la Fuente became his firm and devoted companions. In the society of these faithful friends, he every day learnt to understand more of the mystery of godliness, and of his duty as a minister of Christ. But the consolation derived from this source was not of long continuance. The death of Vargas, and the departure of Constantine for the Netherlands, left him to pursue his course with no other human help than that which might be derived from intercourse with the little company of believers, raised up by his own care for their edification in the gospel.

Were there no other cause for suspecting the honesty of his adversaries, it would be difficult to give them credit for freedom from base and unworthy motives, when we learn, that the moment seized upon for exe-

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cuting their vengeance, was that in which the Emperor announced his intention of elevating him to the bishopric of Tortosa.* This was a testimony to the value set upon Egidius by his sovereign, which his enemies could scarcely endure to see expressed. No sooner, therefore, were the Emperor's intentions known, than officers of the Inquisition were sent to apprehend the venerable preacher, and he was committed to close confinement. No exertions were spared to obtain his immediate liberation; but though even the Emperor and the chapter of Seville could not effect this, it so far influenced the holy office, that the cause of Egidius was left to arbitrators, one of whom was to be of his own choosing. Great as was this favour, it only served to modify, in a trifling degree, the issue of his examination. He was too sincere and earnest to conceal his opinions, or express them with less distinctness than they were apprehended in his mind. At the conclusion of the trial, he was condemned as suspected of Lutheranism, and sentenced to abjure his supposed heresy, to refrain from employing any means for its circulation, and to be im-

* Some curious passages occur in the letters of the Spanish bishops assembled at the Council of Trent, when the doubt respecting the mode in which the see of Tortosa would be disposed of became general. The Bishop of Elves writes to the Bishop of Arras, chief minister at that time, in these terms: "The fear which I have of being importunate hinders me from writing to you as often as I otherwise should. It would greatly distress me should you imagine that I have forgotten your good-will towards me, and the effective proofs of it which I have received, and am now enjoying. I hope that you will still let me receive marks thereof. I have so great gratitude for your benefits, and your rare qualities, your goodness of disposition, attach me so perfectly to you, that I remember you without ceasing, and principally in my poor sacrifices. There it is that we ought to make mention of our masters. I pray God that he may give me some means of serving you as I wish. . . . . When any thing occurs in which I can serve you, send your orders to me as to the lowest domestic in your house."—Lettres et Memoires de Vargas, par Michel le Vassor; Amsterdam, 1699, p. 192.

"We have received," says Bishop Subin, "the news here that the Bishop-elect of Tortosa has been condemned to perpetual imprisonment. I shall be infinitely obliged if you will have the goodness to think of me, in case the Bishop of Elves is transferred to Tortosa, which is thus vacant." This follows the most servile assurances of gratitude and obedience, p. 194, and is followed by another letter from the Bishop of Elves, more plain and pressing than the former. The editor and translator of these Memoires of Vargas, (Le Vassor,) observes, that he has introduced the three letters to show how the orthodox Spanish bishops, amid the cares of the council, could find time to look to their own interests. Faut-il s'etonner aprés cela que le Concile de Trente ait fait si peu de fruit? p. 198.

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prisoned three years, with the threat that any attempt to leave the kingdom would be punished with death in the flames.

Egidius submitted to his sentence in a patient and humble spirit; but he survived the term of his imprisonment little more than a year. The hatred which had hunted him to the grave would fain have pursued him beyond it. It did all it could to satisfy itself that this was possible. The bones of the confessor were taken from the tomb and burnt, and his memory was branded with infamy by men, while his soul rejoiced before God in the righteousness of Christ, and in the blessings of his love. But it was with sorrow that Egidius had reviewed the latter portion of his course. He would rather have died a martyr than linger in a captivity which deprived him of the power of promulging the truths for which, though not immediately, his life was in reality sacrificed. Happily for the little community at Seville, Constantine de la Fuente returned to that town soon after it was deprived of the teaching of Egidius. He had been sent to Belgium in the suite of the Emperor's son, and with the high compliment from his sovereign, that he was well fitted to exalt the Spanish character for genius and eloquence. A professorship of divinity having been instituted about this time, he was elected to the office; and in the performance of the duties which thus devolved upon him, he was enabled to do much in furtherance of evangelical views. As a preacher he equalled Egidius in his best days; and the chapter of the cathedral considered that they were aiding their own popularity by appointing him to preach in the cathedral every second day during Lent. Nothing could exceed the eagerness of the people to hear his discourses. Those who wished to secure a seat in the church had to be there four or five hours before the commencement of the service; and, as it began at eight in the morning, many persons spent a large portion of the time allotted to repose awaiting the signal for his appearance.

The power which he thus exercised over the minds of the inhabitants of Seville pointed him out as the only

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successor to Egidius likely to support the credit of the Church. Though opposed by the archbishop, and unwillingly complying with the rule which rendered a species of probation necessary, he was duly elected to the office. This gave him still greater opportunities of promoting the interests of his party which now assumed in Seville the character of a congregation, with its regular pastors and properly-appointed services. It was in the midst of dangers that this little section of the reformed Church arose, and it seemed every instant on the brink of destruction. The caution of Constantine enabled him to effect many objects which a less experienced man would only have attempted to the ruin of his associates. For some years, therefore, the gospel was preached at Seville, and the corruptions of the Roman Church withstood, while scarcely a suspicion was entertained that more was thought of than might be easily detected in the sermons of Constantine, or of some few others who affected to imitate his style. The composition of little treatises, and a catechism, explaining the elements of Christianity, formed part of the labours of this excellent man, and served greatly to impress the minds of several of his hearers with the importance of scriptural knowledge. In all these undertakings he was well supported by those who had secretly embraced the views which influenced his proceedings. Among the most earnest of his friends was Francisco Zafra, who, as deeply versed in the knowledge of the law, had been long known as one of the counsellors of the Inquisition. In this capacity he is said to have often found opportunities of procuring the discharge of persons accused of heresy.* A lady, however, who resided in his house, becoming insane, the ruin of the reformers of Seville seemed for an instant inevitable. The unfortunate woman, in a fit of frenzy, escaped from the house, and rushed with all speed to the very office of the Inquisition. There she repeated whatever came to her mind respecting the proceedings of her friends, and gave a long list of those whom she recollected as her fellow-worshippers in the place of their

* Llorente, t. III, pp. 256–7.

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secret meeting. With admirable presence of mind Francisco Zafra, on learning the state of the matter, hastened to the office, and in a firm, collected voice, explained the condition of the unhappy lady, and succeeded in removing from the minds of the inquisitors any very strong opinion that there was truth in the revelations she had so strangely made.

While the number of those who thus united with each other in the secret services of the reformed Church was continually increasing, the principles which animated them were daily gaining ground in society at large. Many who were kept by fear from joining the congregation, and others who had too strong a sense of the duty of obedience to meditate separation from the Church, could yet understand the value of the gospel, and the blessed effects of its doctrines on the heart. When compared with the ordinary teaching of the clergy, the discourses of the evangelical preachers had a manifest superiority, and the value of mere external observances could not fail to lose its importance in proportion to the increasing liveliness of spiritual consciousness. Hence there were several religious houses,* the inmates of which were imbued with sentiments highly favourable to the reformed doctrines; and persons holding important situations at court were often employed in endeavouring to soften the terrors of persecution, and promote a mild and fair inquiry into the nature of the proposed changes. Nor did the Emperor himself, as we have seen, refuse to exercise his authority occasionally in favour of those who had fallen into the grasp of the Inquisition. These circumstances contributed materially to the protection of the reformers of Seville, and other places, from the sudden and overwhelming attacks to which they would otherwise have been exposed, and which, when they did occur, in the following reign, so speedily rooted out the recollection of their labours.

Valladolid was the rival of Seville in readiness to receive the gospel. This important city owed much of

* The convent of San Isidro was conspicuous among these.—Llorente, t. II., p. 262; M'Crie, p. 221.

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its devotion to the doctrines of the Reformation to the pious and undaunted example of San Roman. This ornament of Spanish martyrology was one of those who derived their knowledge of the new opinions from intercourse with the merchants of Antwerp and other parts of the Netherlands. A sermon heard at Bremen first convinced him of the value of the Scriptures; and, having sought the acquaintance of the principal reformers, and learnt their sentiments, he became so deeply affected at the view of his former ignorance, that he lost no time in making known to his friends the happy change which had taken place. But the persons to whom he wrote at Antwerp, and in whose employment he was, had little sympathy with the feelings expressed; and on his return to that city he was apprehended as a heretic, the charges against him being amply proved by the books and papers found in his possession. An imprisonment of eight months taught him for a while to be more cautious in the declaration of his sentiments. The advice of Dryander, whom he visited at Louvain, tended to the same end, and he incurred no further danger till, making a journey to Ratisbonne, he was tempted by the appearance of affairs to solicit the Emperor, in person, to repress the fury of the Inquisition, and to allow the gospel to be freely preached to his subjects in Spain.*

The hopes which he had conceived from the monarch's seeming clemency were speedily dissipated. Before even he left the royal presence, some members of the court openly expressed their horror at his opinions, and proposed to prevent his doing further injury by drowning him at once in the Danube. Charles only so far repressed the wrath of his courtiers as to order him not to be despatched so quickly, but to be made prisoner, and kept in chains till his examination could take place before the proper tribunal. In this condition San Roman was conveyed to Italy, and became an unwilling follower of the ill-timed expedition to Algiers, after which he was carefully committed to the keeping of the

* Llorente, t. II., p. 139. 144. 273: Gerdes. Hist. Reform., t. II., p. 131; III., p. 25.

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Inquisition of Valladolid. He had suffered no loss of courage during the painful journey from which he was thus to repose. The time which he had gained served to strengthen his convictions; and he seems to have experienced, like other saints and sufferers in the cause of godliness, the value of every day that is given when spent in prayer and inward communion with God.

Too strongly impressed with the love of the gospel to bear any longer the thought of concealing his feelings, the martyr spoke as openly on the subject of his faith, in the presence of the inquisitors, as he would have discoursed among his intimate friends. He converted his examination into a noble defence of the truth, and the members of the holy office might have learnt the way of salvation from his lips. But they only took advantage of his arguments and confessions to pass the sentence which, under any circumstances, would in all probability have consigned him to the flames. Efforts were afterwards made to induce him to recant; and when he was brought to the stake he was offered an easier death if he would confess, and offer the customary homage to a crucifix. But he could not be persuaded to purchase a mitigation of suffering at such a price. The fire was, therefore, lit around him, and when the friars, observing that he bent back his head from the flames, ordered him to be unbound, thinking he might still retract, he made an effort to recover his breath, and exclaimed, "Were you envious then of my felicity?" These words had scarcely escaped his lips when he was thrown down in the midst of the burning wood, and speedily consumed.*

The patience and heroism of San Roman exercised a striking influence on the inhabitants of Valladolid. He presented a noble specimen of the true convert to spiritual religion. The utter absence of any motive to the course he had pursued, except such as conscience and heaven might furnish, conveyed to all hearts the proof of his sincerity. An appeal was thereby made which has never, perhaps, been heard in vain. As the dew of God's blessing shall not return to him void, so

* Hist. des Martyrs, pp. 146–148.

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neither will he let the blood of his saints be sprinkled on the earth without causing some of it to fall on soil capable of bringing forth thirty, sixty, or a hundred fold. The ways of Divine Providence are wonderful in the commonest affairs of the world; but still more so in the government of Christ's Church. While it might seem, therefore, to the narrow perceptions of mankind, that the loss of such believers as San Roman must long prevent the success of the gospel, that very loss, as an item in human calculation, might be an appointed means of gain; and, carrying the mind forward, the suppression of the Reformation for a time, in Spain and Italy, might, in a similar manner, be one of the links of the chain through which eternal wisdom intended, from the first, to convey its lesson of converting truth to the scattered members of the Lord's kingdom. Had San Roman been endowed with the highest qualities as a preacher, and escaped death for many years, his sermons might have only excited admiration, while his death produced conversions; his longer period of labour might have multiplied his own satisfactions, but the cutting short of his career hastened the season for the increase of the Church. Reflections of this kind may, it is true, be erroneous in the instance, but they can hardly be so in the principle; and the actual advance of evangelical doctrine in Valladolid, after the martyrdom of San Roman, teaches but the same lesson as other efforts of persecuting power to silence the voice of truth by unholiness and cruelty.

When a congregation was regularly formed at Valladolid, the pastoral superintendence was intrusted first to Domingo de Roxas, and next to Augustin Cazalla. The former of these had been admitted into the order of St. Dominic, but obtaining for his instructor the kind and enlightened Bartolomi de Carranza, afterwards Archbishop of Toledo, he found himself at liberty to imbibe many of the sentiments then only beginning to be known among his countrymen. Carefully studying the writings of Luther and his associates, Roxas soon openly declared his disbelief in the doctrines of the

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mass and of purgatory; and the vigour with which he expounded his reasons for this departure from the common creed of his Church, inspired others with courage to pursue the same line of inquiry. Cazalla commenced his career in the university of Alcala, and obtained at an early age a canonship in the cathedral of Salamanca. There he quickly rendered himself conspicuous by his eloquence, and his father being at the head of the royal treasury, he was appointed preacher to the Emperor, in which capacity he attended the monarch to Germany.

At this period Cazalla was not inferior to the generality of Spanish divines in a desire to bring back Lutherans to the bosom of the Church. But his candour was equal to his zeal, and as he had no wish to defend himself by other than fair arguments, the superiority of his opponents was not denied, and he allowed their reasonings, founded as they were on an appeal to scripture, to bear conviction to his heart. On his return to Spain he gladly associated himself with the reformers of Seville and Valladolid, in which latter place he at length fixed his abode, and became the intimate friend of Domingo de Roxas. At the house of his mother he received the congregation of which he thus became one of the recognized pastors; and his eminent piety, joined with great prudence and knowledge of the state of affairs, rendered him, in every respect, a valuable guide in seasons of alarm and difficulty. But the part which he took in teaching and assisting the reformers did not interfere with the regular performance of his duties as chaplain to the Emperor. Such was the regard entertained for him by Charles, that his services were still acceptable to the monarch, when immured in the monastery of St. Juste. Other branches of the royal family viewed him with corresponding esteem, and though some of his hearers appear to have doubted the orthodoxy of his tenets, he continued to be listened to by his powerful friends with no diminution of respect. That he had not exposed himself to much suspicion, till long after his union with the reformers, is further

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evident from the fact, that he was chosen a member of the junta appointed to consider the propriety of the Pope's proceeding, when he transferred the council assembled at Trent from that city to Bologna.*

The congregations formed by the followers of Luther in Spain existed little more than fourteen years. It was not till long after the reception of the new doctrines by individuals in different parts of the country, that the converts so made began to collect together for the purpose of social worship. The utmost caution was used to prevent the intrusion of the weak or ignorant into these assemblies; and as they were well arranged, and consisted chiefly of persons of rank and education, the rules laid down for their safety were faithfully obeyed. Some of their chief men, moreover, held offices which brought them into frequent intercourse with the inquisitors themselves. This was a circumstance of vast importance in their favour. If suspicions arose, they could be silenced with comparative ease by men whom the inquisitors were in the habit of regarding as possessing an influence but little inferior to their own, and which they might one day need to employ for some purpose of their institution. The proceedings even of the holy office might, in some degree, be anticipated by the vigilance of such persons. It was not in darkness and mystery that the inquisitors lived, however wrapped in gloom might be the sentences they passed, or the dungeons in which rose the throne of their power. Their records might be sealed, but their thoughts and feelings were as open to inspection as those of other persons; and when the experienced man of the world, the accomplished traveller and diplomatist, had to protect himself and his friends against the enmity of monks, it must not be supposed that there was a charm in the cowl, or in the name of inquisitor, which could render all these means of personal influence weak or unavailing.

Could the secret of the reformers have been confined to the small number of persons which composed their body in Spain, it would probably have remained safe for many years. But they were in frequent commu-

* Llorente, t. II., p. 222.

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nication with their countrymen abroad; and however careful the latter might have been, when under the eye of the Inquisition, it was natural for them to relax in caution when they found themselves far from the observation of their persecutors. This was the case with many of the Spaniards in Brussels, Antwerp and other parts of the Netherlands. The inquisitors discovered that by carefully watching the conduct of those suspected of heresy, when far from home, they might become familiar with the secrets of every family in Spain, which had fallen under their notice. It is a remarkable circumstance in the history of these proceedings, that one of the principal agents employed in rendering information on the subject, had been himself exposed to the observation of the Inquisition in the early part of his life, and ended his days the victim of its wrath.

This was the learned and distinguished Bartolomi Carranza. His family was noble, and one of his relatives occupying a situation of rank in the university of Alcala de Henares, he was introduced, at the age of twelve, as a student, into that famous academy. His abilities soon attracted the notice of the scholars of the time, and his opinions were of a nature to procure him the intimate friendship of Juan Valdez, secretary at Naples. It was to him that that eminent advocate of the reformed doctrines dictated the epistle afterwards published under the title of "Advice to Interpreters of Scripture,"* and in the year 1530 he was himself denounced to the Inquisition as tinctured with heretical pravity. He had now been some time a member of the order of Dominicans, and was at the present period pursuing his studies in the college of St. Gregory in Valladolid. His accuser was one of the professors, and the charge purported, that Carranza had in several conversations spoken suspiciously respecting the power of the Pope in ordering ecclesiastical ceremonies. He had, moreover, taken part against those who were engaged about con-

* In 1559, F. Louis de la Cruz, prisoner of the Inquisition of Valladolid, declared that this work had been addressed, twenty years before, to Carranza, but that the foundation of it existed in the Christian Institutions of Tauler, the German mystic.—Llorente, t. II., p. 478.

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demning the writings of Erasmus; and the process commenced against him only needed a small addition to the evidence to secure his condemnation. The delay which intervened before this could be procured was fatal to the wishes of his enemies. A general change took place among the officers of the Inquisition, and the charge was allowed to pass by. The whole affair had been conducted with profound secresy, and the public reputation of Carranza being uninjured, he was successively elected to the professorships of philosophy and theology in the college of St. Gregory. Not long after, the Inquisition itself employed him as its adviser in difficult cases, and in 1539, he was sent to Rome, as the representative of his brethren in a general chapter of the order. His fame was greatly increased by the manner in which he supported the theses committed to his care on this occasion, and when he returned to Spain, his college elected him to the degree of doctor and master in theology, and the Pope awarded him the corresponding liberty of reading forbidden books.

It is greatly to the honour of many men of this class, that they were ever ready to meet the distressing calls frequently made upon them by the circumstances of the age in which they lived. A dreadful famine having followed some failure of the harvests in the mountains of Leon and Santander, Carranza gathered together a number of the poor perishing peasants and fed them in his college. The wealthier citizens of Valladolid were laid under contribution by his fervent appeals; and when money was still wanting to supply the necessities of the wretched families that poured down from the neighbouring hills, he sold his books, and with the money which they furnished bought bread for the miserable creatures that had otherwise perished in their want.

Few of the characters mentioned in the history of these times would appear compounded of more unaccountable inconsistencies than that of Carranza, did we not know that the bold, definite, and widely comprehensive designs of Luther were at an infinite distance from the thoughts of men who only dimly saw that the doc-

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trines or practices of the Roman Church were not all equally founded on the infallible truth of the gospel. Between the feelings of men like Carranza and those of the reformers of Germany, there was a vast line of distinction. But those who erred in the lowest measure from the rule of Roman dictation were not less exposed to the anathema maranatha than the worst schismatics. In many cases they had to encounter a heavier measure of suffering, for in proportion to the slightness of their separation or supposed heresy was their nearness to the power that could punish. But the punishment of the lower degrees of schism depended upon the circumstances of the offender. In the case of the poor and unfriended, every word and unimportant action was put to the severest test. In that of the well-connected and powerful, much was allowed to individual pride and caprice. Carranza, accordingly, notwithstanding his early offences, and the confidence with which he appears to have pursued his upward career, was allowed to remain a minister of the Inquisition, and not only exercised the office of qualificator, but preached several of the sermons at the execution of the criminals put to death in the auto-da-fés. His own consistency in this matter is another subject; but the judges, who afterwards tried him, ought surely to have questioned the worth of a system which could allow a man guilty of a crime, worthy of condign punishment, to continue so long in the exercise of the highest functions of the Church. It was even Carranza who preached the sermon at the execution of the pious and heroic San Roman; and such was the zeal and orthodoxy of his addresses on this and other similar occasions, that he was soon after rewarded with the offer of the bishopric of Cuzco. But whatever may be the difficulty attending an attempt to reconcile his partial defence of the reformed doctrines with his frequent appearance at the execution of those who defended them, at the expense of their blood, we are compelled to admire the unselfishness of his conduct in refusing every offer of preferment which seemed to require virtues and endowments for which, in his humility, he would not give himself credit. The same

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course was pursued when, in subsequent years, he was named confessor to the Prince of the Asturias, and soon after bishop of the Canaries. Both of these high dignities he declined, declaring to the Emperor that he could not conscientiously accept them, feeling in himself so great a want of the qualities necessary for the fit discharge of the duties which they involved. He accepted, however, the office of prior of the Dominican convent of Valencia, and was soon after elected provincial of the convents of Castille. In the course of 1549 he delivered lectures to his brethren on the Epistle of St. Paul to the Galatians, and was incessant in his exertions to restore the strict discipline of his order; and many of the observances which had latterly been treated with negligence owed their revival to his zeal. Among these are said to have been the commemoration of festivals, and the performance of masses for the relief of souls from purgatory.

Carranza, after occupying a conspicuous station among the representatives of the Spanish clergy at the Council of Trent, and taking a large share in the discussions of the Inquisition at home, was in 1554 sent into England to arrange, with Cardinal Pole, the means of assisting Queen Mary in restoring her kingdom to allegiance with the Pope. It was under his direction that the processes against Cranmer and other eminent Englishmen were drawn up; and the Queen is said to have derived in these affairs the most efficient assistance from his experience and wisdom. Having remained in England about three years, he followed Philip II. to Flanders, where he began a similar course to that which he had so successfully pursued in England. By his direction vast numbers of books, supposed to be infected with the leaven of bad doctrine, were collected and burnt; and the King was furnished, through his zeal, with long lists of persons who had fled from Spain to England, Germany or Flanders, on account of religion, and whose connections were still in their native country, and required to be watched.

While Carranza was thus employed, news arrived of the death of the Archbishop of Toledo. Philip im-

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mediately nominated his accomplished and zealous adviser to the vacant see. Carranza, however, refused, as he had formerly done, to accept the episcopal dignity; and contented himself with naming three ecclesiastics of reputation, to any one of whom he thought the King might properly commit the charge. But Philip had too high a sense of his merits and usefulness to accept his excuses. Finding him obstinate in his refusal, he at length sternly commanded him, by the obedience which he owed to his sovereign, to submit to the yoke. Carranza was accordingly solemnly consecrated at Brussels, and the Pope expressed his satisfaction at the appointment, by foregoing many of the formalities of inquiry customary in other cases. The new archbishop owed this favour and the dignity itself to the part he had taken against the reformers in England and the Netherlands.

On his return to Spain, Carranza gave a full account of his proceedings in the journey, for the fatigues of which he had been thus magnificently rewarded. He appeared frequently in the council of the Inquisition, and then visited Charles V. in his retreat at St. Juste. The monarch, it is said, had heard with much dissatisfaction the tidings of Carranza's acceptance of the see of Toledo. "I offered him," he is reported to have observed, "first the bishopric of Cuzco, and then that of the Canaries. He declined them, but receives the archbishopric of Toledo. We shall see how much credit is due to this man's virtue."* Whatever was the cause of the Emperor's displeasure, it appears to be generally admitted, that when Carranza presented himself, Charles received him with great coldness, and scarcely answered his salute. This has been ascribed by some authors to certain rumours respecting the archbishop's want of perfect orthodoxy; and when he spoke to the dying monarch on the sufficiency of Christ's atonement, the other churchmen present are said to have discovered that these suspicions were well founded. It is evident that the interview was far from satisfactory, and that the enemies of Carranza had already begun

* Llorente, t. II., p. 164.

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the execution of the plan laid for his destruction. The popularity which he acquired by his devoted attention to the wants of his diocese, by his unbounded charity, his visits to the sick and to the poor inmates of hospitals and prisons, and his frequent preaching, was ill calculated to lessen the enmity conceived against him. His rivals in the King's favour could not pardon the offence he had committed in succeeding to the archbishopric; and the universal esteem which followed him in his progress from one portion of his diocese to another, was a new cause of dislike. A few months only were allowed to pass before it was determined in the Inquisition that he ought as speedily as possible to be placed before its tribunal. The origin of this extreme hatred to a man who had done so much for the Roman Church has been traced back to the year 1547, when he published a treatise on the residence of bishops. His successful exercise of ability in the Council of Trent greatly annoyed several of his countrymen who were, at the same time, seeking for pre-eminence. Other enemies were raised against him by the recommendation which he had given in favour of the three ecclesiastics, whom he considered the best qualified candidates for the archbishopric of Toledo. Among those who are said to have been most affected by this cause of dislike was Ferdinand Valdes, archbishop of Seville, and grand inquisitor. This powerful prelate had been placed at the head of the holy office in the year 1547, and was rich in other dignities bestowed upon him by the favour of the court. But his mind had been soured by the disappointment which attended his efforts to obtain admission into the college of cardinals; and the elevation of Carranza, whom he had long disliked, still further embittered his resentment.

But while neither personal enmity, nor the activity of the archbishop of Toledo, could furnish any colourable pretence for his persecution, there existed in the new editions of his catechism matter sufficient to bring his sentiments into doubt, when a resolution had been previously taken to destroy him. Valdes bought several

* Llorente, t. II., c. xviii., p. 135.

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copies of this work, and put them into the hands of persons in whose ability to detect every unguarded expression he had been taught to place implicit confidence. The result of the examination was such as might be expected. A tendency to Lutheranism was supposed to be discovered in the article on justification; and Peter de Castro, bishop of Cuença, said, that he had heard the author speak in similar language in the Council of Trent, and that, therefore, he might properly be charged with holding opinions open to reprehension. Castro said, still further, that he recollected having heard him preach at London before the King, when he uttered expressions of a doubtful character. He was led, in the course of his sermon, to speak of the crucified Saviour; and, in pursuing the theme, represented justification as the fruit of a lively faith in his death and passion. This discourse, it is said, produced great scandal at the time; and, on other occasions, he created a similar alarm, by speaking of irremissible sins, and of the manner in which indulgences had been sold during the crusades, a subject, it was observed, which ought not to have been alluded to in England, and in the midst of heretics. Castro, in summing up his account of Carranza's preaching, remarked, that it would have befitted Philip Melancthon himself.

There appears ample reason to believe, that neither Castro, nor any other of the archbishop's accusers, would have recollected the heretical tendency of his sermons, had he not been raised to the see of Toledo. This quickened their apprehensions, and enabled them to try even tones and gestures by the unvarying rule of orthodoxy. Valdes is chargeable with having set a reward upon the falsifying of Carranza's sentiments. The most intimately acquainted with the latter persisted, to the last, in asserting his firm attachment to the doctrines of the Church; but this availed nothing when even the prisoners in the cells of the holy office were systematically drawn in to state what might be prejudicial to his cause.

Among the individuals examined respecting the former opinions of the unfortunate prelate, was a lady,

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who stated, that she had heard some one observe, that Carranza would one day burn in hell, for that, knowing the truth of Luther's opinions better than other men, he had, notwithstanding, condemned many to the flames in England, whose only offence was that they believed them correct. The prioress of the convent of St. Catherine, in Valladolid, deposed, that she had heard some one say, that the archbishop declared, on a certain occasion, that he did not see in the Holy Scriptures any evident proof of the existence of purgatory. But she afterwards stated, that she had no doubt respecting his belief of the doctrine, for that she had often heard him insist, with great earnestness, on the duty of celebrating masses for the dead. The Dominican, John Manuelez, declared, that he was not certain, whether the archbishop had stated that scripture spoke not of purgatory; but others asserted, that he had said, that no great evil would arise from the denial of purgatory; and that, when some one alluded to the decision of the Church on the subject, he observed, that he was not yet capable of understanding the matter. These statements, however, were also contradicted; and, in a process where evidence had been fairly balanced, it could scarcely have failed to be acknowledged that Carranza's accusers had failed to prove their allegations. Francis de Tordesillas affirmed, that he had copied many of the manuscripts of the archbishop; and that in one of them was a preface which cautioned the reader against giving any other interpretation to the remarks on justification, than such as was consistent with the doctrines of the Church. He further observed, that whatever Carranza wrote was in the spirit of orthodoxy; and that even the passages which were most obscure, and might, with greatest readiness, be interpreted in a sense injurious to the author, were not, in reality, opposed to any catholic truth.

The affair had now been carried too far to suffer the inquisitors to pause in their design. Their next step, therefore, was to seize the books and writings of the archbishop, which were known to be deposited at the house of the Marchioness de Alcagnices. This was

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soon accomplished, and fresh means were afforded for the effectual prosecution of his ruin. A commentary on Isaiah was among the writings thus discovered. It exhibited striking proofs of learning and acuteness. Some one is reported to have made inquiries respecting this work in times past, and to have questioned those acquainted with the prelate as to the sources whence he had gathered such profound erudition. The answer was, that he had long possessed a book written either by Luther or Œcolampadius, to which he was indebted for the principal part of these annotations, and that he had always kept it, with great care, from common observation. But this circumstance could not be alleged as a proof of heresy, since he had received formal permission to read forbidden books, and had frequently been heard to say, that the writings of heretics ought to be viewed with the greatest caution, as abounding in secret poison. Another witness was called, who stated that Carranza had been known to affirm, that he should wish, at the hour of death, to have a notary by his bed-side, to draw up an instrument in which he might solemnly renounce any right to, or claim founded upon, his own good works; for that he placed his sole trust on the merits of Christ, and believed his sins to be done away by his blood.*

Dominic de Roxas acknowledged that he had heard the same thing, but did not regard it as implicating the archbishop in any charge of Lutheranism, the sentiment being that of a good Catholic. This he confirmed by the remark, that the reformers and the orthodox differed mainly in the view taken on the subject of expiation, the new sect ascribing it to the sole merits of Jesus Christ, and denying a justifying power to good works; whereas Carranza did not affirm this, but only that the expiation which followed the good works of the sinner was so imperfect, when compared with that due to the infinite merits of Christ, that the offender must regard his own as nothing, when appealing with true fervour to the mercy of his crucified Redeemer. This attempt to reconcile the doctrine which teaches us, according to the

* Llorente, t. III., c. xxxii., p. 195.

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gospel, to attribute salvation to the merits of Christ, and not to the wretched efforts of creatures sinful and erring at the best, could scarcely have satisfied the weakest reasoners on the subject. The expressions attributed to Carranza plainly intimate, that he renounced the dependence which he had once placed on his own good works; and if we had not the melancholy record of his persecution of the reformers, and of his alliance, in many instances, with the Inquisition, we should consider that his acknowledgment of this grand and fundamental truth of evangelical religion entitled him to a place among the most enlightened confessors of his country. But the declaration of Dominic de Roxas, compared with what has just been related, shows that Carranza's mind was throughout in a state of melancholy indecision. At one moment he employed expressions which proved that the doctrines of the gospel had made a deep impression on his thoughts, while the next he endeavoured to modify them by an appeal to the dogmas to which they stood directly opposed. This rendered it impossible for his friends to tell exactly what his feelings really were, while his enemies were furnished with ample means, whenever the proper season should occur, to convict him of at least a very near approach to forbidden ground. Dominic de Roxas had confessed, when hoping to escape death, that though Carranza had given a catholic sense to Lutheran expressions, he seemed to have had his mind well prepared to admit much which belonged to the errors they implied. But when it was announced to him that his death was decided on, he then desired to be admitted to an audience, that he might state somewhat which regarded the peace of his soul. Being permitted to speak, he said, that in the awful situation in which he was placed, his conscience now obliged him to declare that he had never heard Carranza assert any thing contrary to the doctrines of the Roman Church, as they were made known by its councils and decrees; but that, on the contrary, he had always found him anxious to warn his friends against the opinions of the Lutherans, which,

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he said, were full of artifices and errors, and seemed to have been vomited from hell.

When Carranza first heard of the suspicions excited against him, he regarded the whole affair as arising from some slight misapprehension of his meaning, and which would be removed as soon as he had the opportunity of meeting his accusers face to face. He was, however, destined to learn the horrible injustice of that system to which he had so often rendered assistance, without stopping to inquire whether he was not violating thereby every principle of honesty and truth. It was in vain that he desired to be made acquainted with the names of the persons employed in examining his works, or with the particular objections against them, that he might furnish the necessary explanations of the manner in which he had used certain terms of theological science. Valdes, of the extent of whose enmity he had little idea, opposed the grant of such information, on the plea, that it would involve the violation of rules essential to the efficiency of the holy office. Upon further inquiry, Carranza found, that he was accused of uttering heretical sentiments, not only in his catechism, but in his personal and ordinary conversation; and the presages of greater danger than he had hitherto contemplated increasing daily, he wrote to the King and the Pope to aid him with their influence. Neither the one nor the other of these personages would venture to interfere with the will of the Inquisition. The Pope intimated that he must wait till further information arrived; and Philip only replied, that he would protect him as far as was consistent with the interests of religion. The interview with the Emperor at St. Juste, did not take place till after Carranza had been made aware of the conspiracy against him; and the conduct of Charles could not have failed to increase his apprehensions.*

But before these intimations were given of the little right which he had to expect favour at the hands of his former friends, he deemed it expedient to show some readiness to humble himself before the tribunal of the

* Llorente, t. III. c. xxxii. p. 225.

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Inquisition, and sacrifice a small portion of his dignity and independence that he might preserve the rest. He accordingly addressed a memorial to the counsellor of the holy office, and offered to consent that his Commentaries on the Catechism should be placed on the list of prohibited works, provided this condemnation was confined to Spain, and that no mention was made of the author. So little, however, did Carranza gain by these conciliations, that the proceedings against him were carried steadily on, and the Pontiff, in full consistory, made allusions to the state of religion in Spain, which plainly proved, that means had been employed to prevent his entertaining for a moment the thought of interposing his authority between the archbishop and the Inquisition. Paul IV., on the occasion referred to, observed, that having received information that the opinions of Luther and other innovators were circulated in Spain, he had reason to suspect that there were even some bishops who might be charged with having embraced these heresies. Such being the case, he authorized the grand inquisitor to issue inquiries against the bishops, archbishops, patriarchs and primates of that kingdom; to commence the accustomed processes; and in those instances in which there was cause for suspicion, to arrest the parties, and put them in a place of surety; when information was to be forwarded immediately to the sovereign Pontiff, with the culprits themselves, and the reports of their examination.

The latter part of this decree, however inconsistent with the liberty of nations, or the common rights of mankind, struck at the root of the power essential to the safety of the Inquisition. When the King, therefore, was found disposed to afford Carranza sufficient time to prepare his defence, Valdes hastened to warn the monarch against the evil which would rise from any longer delay in the proceedings against the archbishop, and especially from his being sent to Rome. Philip paid sufficient attention to these representations, to give orders for the hastening of the process. Other witnesses were accordingly called; and while one declared that Carranza had cautioned them against using

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prayers beginning with the words, "Pater noster et Ave Maria," another stated, that when some one asked him "whether it were better to have a thousand masses said for the soul before or after death," he replied, "If I am worthy of belief, let them be said before death." A third mentioned that the archbishop, after a dispute with certain Lutherans, observed, "I was never more embarrassed than I have been to-day. Although I am a master in theology, I am not so well instructed in scripture as this Lutheran, who is but a simple layman." The whole of the evidence produced was of this character, and rested either upon expressions used in general conversation, and only imperfectly remembered, or on passages in works which had long been before the world, and had, in many cases, received the praise of distinguished churchmen. But the proof of heresy was regarded as sufficiently established to authorize the apprehension of the archbishop. He was therefore committed to close confinement, little attention being paid to his dignity and merits, and that which was granted proceeding only from the positive orders of the King, that due regard should be had to his rank and former reputation for virtue.

Considerable light is thrown upon the nature of the Inquisition, and the state of religion in Spain, by the history of this affair. The records of martyrdom afford only repetitions of evidence to convict the Roman Church of this period of dark and shameless tyranny. But here we have an instance in which, while it allowed the basest system of injustice to be put in action for the defence of its doctrines, it had not vigour or power enough to stop its agents when they were on the point of raising a spirit of indignant opposition through every province of the Church. Every day brought a fresh horde of witnesses to confirm the charge against Carranza. Valdes saw how fatal it would be to the interests of his office if he failed to carry his point. Nearly a hundred persons were engaged to bear testimony in proof of the archbishop's heresy; and two counsellors were appointed to carry on the process, as representatives of the grand inquisitor, who saw fit to retire, on

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this occasion, from the immediate exercise of his judicial functions. Carranza, on being summoned to take the customary oath that he would speak the truth in his examination, refused to acknowledge the competency of the tribunal, or to take the oath, till orders should arrive from the Pope and the King. Every effort was made to deprive him of the means of defence. The very advocates he chose were prevented from pleading his cause; and though allowed a private residence, and the offer of proper attendants, he was soon made to feel that his condition was little better than that of an ordinary prisoner. A slow fever was the consequence of his close confinement; and when he requested better accommodation in the spacious residence nominally assigned him, his application was treated with cold neglect.

Another circumstance connected with this affair renders it important as illustrative of the present state of the Roman Church. Valdes was in the situation of some wild creature which, in its fierce desire of prey, has seized upon an animal that has strength enough to struggle in its toils till it seem every moment about to inflict a mortal wound and escape. Carranza was too eminent a man to be persecuted without notice by the rest of the hierarchy; and the Council of Trent could not fail to understand, that in a matter of doctrine, thus involving the safety of every bishop in the Church, its own judgment ought not to be regarded as unnecessary to the decision of the question.* The subject was

* Non deerat in concilio postulatum aliquod etiam in Philippum Regem. Detinebatur in custodia multos jam annos à tribunali S. Inquisitionis Hispanicæ Bartholomæus Carranza..... Porro patres concilii, existimantes, in illius magni Præsulis captivitate, sub alio quam sub pontificio tribunali, universum ipsorum ordinem vilescere, sæpius conquesti sunt apud præsides: quos ab hujusmodi expostulatione pressos, comperio usque ab ineunte Aprili ea de rè jam tertio scripsisse Romam, affirmantes ardentem communemque petitionem esse, ut pontifex causam illam ad se advocaret, juberetque acta in Hispania confecta Romam mitti. Nec illi præterierat in responsis se purgare seu negligentis, seu indulgentis notâ, quippe quod nullus unquam suus minister in Hispaniam ivisset, cui per iterata mandata negotium illud non commendasset. Misitque inter cætera ad legatos epistolam de hoc argumento, Philippi Regis exaratam manu, in qua querebatur acriter cum pontifice, quod ipse nescio quod diploma Odescalco nuntio in ea causa dedisset, ipso rege non prius audito; petebatque à pontifice, ut boni consuleret susceptum ex rege consilium, ne ea jussio vulgaretur, utque in posterum S. Inquisitionis processum non turbaret in ea causa, in qua regi adeo cordi erat, ut quod æquum esset perageretur; quare quàm citissimé

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brought directly before the council, when it became a part of its duty to determine what books were to be proscribed as injurious to the catholic faith. Among those about which the fathers had chiefly to occupy themselves, was Carranza's Commentary on the Catechism. This work had been highly applauded by several eminent scholars; and the ecclesiastics in the interest of Valdes saw plainly, that, if great caution was not employed, the very book on which the charge against him was mainly founded would be sanctioned as orthodox by this great council of the universal Church.

The progress of this important discussion was made known to the King; and Valdes strongly insisted upon the necessity of asserting the independence of the Spanish Church and Inquisition. When the index, therefore, was drawn up, it was argued by the representatives of the interests of Spain, that the Church of that country had already its own index of proscribed works, and that it would be highly injurious to the cause of truth if a book, condemned by the authorities of the country where it was published, should be declared orthodox by a general council.

There has scarcely ever been a question better calculated to try the worth of the precepts ordinarily promulged by Rome than this. Here was a work, treating of subjects intimately connected with the most important doctrines of religion, condemned by the Inquisition, or at least regarded as sufficiently suspicious to bring its author before that tribunal, but now exposed to the strict criticism of a council termed general, and not presenting to that tribunal any signs of heresy. The danger of such

acta confectum iri, de quibus posteà pontifex edocendus esset. Hinc verò intelligebat Pius, haud sibi per id tempus licere validius manum impellere, quin abrumperet vinculum illud conjunctionis cum rege Catholico, adeò sibi necessarium ad bonum universale. Sed episcopis haud cessantibus legatos denuò extimulare, eoque pacto in suam rem pontificalem auctoritatem attollere ac monentibus, non solum in Ecclesia Christiana, sed etiam in Judaica consuevisse maximi momenti causas à summo sacerdote recognosci, legati petitionem renovarunt.—Pallavicini Hist. Conc. Trident., lib. XXI., c. vii., sec. 7; lib. XIV., c. xi., sec. 4. See also Dr. M'Crie's History of the Reformation in Spain, a work which, with that of the Reformation in Italy, affords the general reader a correct and admirable view of the events connected with the introduction of Protestantism in those countries.

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an occurrence was speedily perceived by the fathers of the holy office. It was discovered, with no less clearness, by the counsellors of the Pope, and the heads of the Church at large, that to yield in such a matter would greatly injure the authority of Rome, and probably lead to consequences not to be regarded without dread by the advocates of catholic unity. The bishops at Trent insisted on their right to prepare an index which should be received as a guide to the members of the Church in all parts of the world. And in this they were fully justified, supposing it were granted, as it was by nations in communion with Rome, that they formed an assembly strictly œcumenical, and endowed with the authority proper to a general council. But Philip argued, that Spain had already an index of its own; that it had a full right to such an index, and that it ought not to be interfered with or set aside. This was the very doctrine which the head of a reformed Church would have held, and to which every reformer would gladly give his assent. The contrast between the two demands is equally striking and worthy of remark. Neither party was willing to yield, and the contest was carried on for several years. The Pope felt a personal unwillingness to insist on Philip's discontinuing the process; but at length the members of the council declared that they would retire, and take no further part in the important business for which they had been called together, unless his Holiness would put forth his sacred authority, and oblige the Spanish government to send the archbishop for his trial to Rome. Thus urged into action, the Pontiff was obliged to address Philip in a strain of earnest remonstrance; but the monarch contented himself with answering, that he felt astonished, that the fathers of the council should employ themselves in discussing affairs of a private nature; that the demands of the Pope were contrary to the rights of his sovereignty and the honour of his person; and that he should not publish the brief which was so injurious to his feelings, but pursue, as before, the process to its conclusion.*

* Llorente, t. III., c. xxxiii. p. 265.

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Political affairs did not allow of any more energetic proceeding on the part of Rome. Pius IV. feared, that, by involving himself at this time in a dispute with Spain, he might injure the cause of his Church in the great struggle with its now numerous assailants. He therefore pacified the bishops by assuring them, that as soon as the process against the archbishop should be finished, he would order him, with the necessary documents, to be sent to Rome, and entreating them, at the same time, not to let their anxiety respecting this matter make them forget their duty in defending the doctrines of the Church, and its vital interests, in its present season of trial. Though the prelates allowed themselves to be satisfied by this reasoning of his Holiness, so far as the process was concerned, it did not prevent their adopting a course by which, in reality, it more severely condemned the Inquisition and its principles than it would have done by continuing to insist on the archbishop's removal to Rome. The Catechism of Carranza had been subjected to examination. It had, from the first, been generally regarded as worthy of a place among works of catholic authority; but it was now formally pronounced orthodox, and the congregation which confirmed the sentence consisted of four archbishops, of the patriarch of Venice, of the general of the Augustines, and of five bishops. To proclaim still more strongly their opinion on the subject, they directed that a copy of their proceedings should be forthwith forwarded to the archbishop of Toledo, that it might be used in his defence, and afford him an assurance of their esteem. The Pope himself expressed his assent to this decision by giving permission for the immediate publication of the Catechism at Rome; and nothing was wanting to the complete triumph of Carranza but the decree of the whole council, which it was expected would confirm the act of the Congregation of the Index.

It now became necessary that the Spanish party should again employ its best efforts to resist the general sense of the assembly. The ambassador accordingly insisted, that the holy office of his country was insulted by the proceedings which had taken place, and de-

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manded that the act passed by the congregation should be revoked. To strengthen or justify this appeal, the bishop of Lerida, one of the members of the congregation, spoke of his own absence, when the decree was passed, as a sufficient reason for annulling the decision. He even carried his opposition so far as to declare, that the congregation had proved itself capable of giving its assent to heresy. This roused the indignation of the archbishop of Prague, its president, who immediately addressed the legates of the Pope, and required that the bishop of Lerida should be obliged to recal expressions so injurious to the members of the congregation. The highest authorities in the council saw the necessity of employing their influence to silence this new dispute; and it was agreed that the decree should be confirmed, but that a literal copy of it should not be sent forth. The Spanish ambassador then used his influence with the agent of the archbishop of Toledo to recover the instrument which had been placed in his hands. Some assurances of future assistance enabled him to carry this point; but an authenticated copy had been already sent to Spain; and the apologies of the bishop of Lerida rendered the whole affair a cause of triumph to those who espoused Carranza's side of the quarrel.

The officers of the Inquisition, on receiving an account of what had taken place, pressed the King more anxiously than ever to defend them against the aggressions of the council. They represented to him, that he might properly plead with the Pope his great merit in being the only monarch who now employed the utmost of his power for the suppression of heresy, and that if they succeeded in their present design, it would not fail to inspire every enemy of the Church with the fear of punishment.

It is evident, from the zeal with which Philip II. pursued this affair, that the interests of religion had not more to do with it than those of his own authority. The remonstrances of Pius were answered with the remark, that they offended the majesty of the King, and interfered with the authority of his institutions. Philip, in

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this, only acted as most other sovereigns have done, in endeavouring to support the arbitrary precepts of their ecclesiastics. Under the pretence of zeal for religion, they have but sought to secure an unquestioned dominion over the consciences of the people. For this purpose they have been willing, for the moment, to acknowledge the authority of the Church, and insist on the submission of their subjects to its most partial ordinances. But let the same Church once assert its independence, or the necessity under which it is placed to publish truths little palatable to the world, or its rulers, and the first effort which it makes to secure the free course of its ministry, or provide against undue secular interference, will bring down upon it, in arbitrary states, the vengeance of the power which has gladly acknowledged its heavenly origin, so long as it could remain in mute subservience to the politics of the day. Happily, since the times of which we are speaking, the danger of collisions of this kind has been every age decreasing. But the conduct of Philip, on the occasion referred to, shows plainly, that, bigot as he was, fierce as was his championship of Rome and its doctrines, he stood ready, at any moment, to arm his kingdom against the power of the vicar of Christ, against the man whom his creed taught him to regard as holding the keys of heaven, and for whose honour, if disputed by any of his unfortunate people, he was ready to slay as many as would leave half Spain in mourning. His father and Francis I. had manifested the same dispositions. The Church of Rome favoured their arbitrary exactions by its general principles. When the exception came, they then rose in their might, and the rule which was to hold universal Christendom in subjection was broken like a web of gossamer; the sovereignty of the Church was compelled to succumb to the sovereignty of courts; and even a general council, the collective wisdom of the faithful, the highest conceivable authority of the visible Church, vacillated at the beck of a royal ambassador.

Carranza remained some years longer in confinement. He was at length sent to Rome, but not till after the council was dissolved, and had proved its weakness

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in this struggle with the Spanish power. Valdes left no means untried to prevent the Pope from insisting on the archbishop's removal. A commission was formed to judge him in Spain, and the only favour which Pius IV. finally rendered the prelate, was in the choice of men whose character and dignified situation rendered it almost impossible that they should be corrupted. The death of this Pontiff produced another change in the state of this strange affair. On the accession of Pius V., Philip hastened to despatch an ambassador, with directions to entreat the new Pope to confirm the acts of his predecessor. This politic speed was on the point of consigning the archbishop to the power of his enemies; but the Cardinal Buoncompagni, one of the commissioners appointed to try Carranza, being on his way to Rome, persevered in his journey, though directed by Pius to return immediately to Spain. In the interview with his Holiness, he explained to him the state of affairs in Spain, and succeeded in convincing him that Carranza's trial would be a mockery if it took place out of Rome. The Pope's wishes were accordingly forthwith made known at the court of Madrid. Philip found that it was vain to resist any longer; and not only was Carranza allowed to depart from Spain, but Valdes, by the Pontiff's order, was dismissed from the office of grand inquisitor.*

But notwithstanding the power thus directly exercised in favour of Carranza, it was so contrived that many months elapsed before he commenced his journey into Italy. Nearly eight years had passed away since his apprehension, and this period, we are informed, was spent in two apartments, whence he could see neither the open country nor the street. To all but his personal enemies, the proceedings against him presented a series of iniquitous violations of truth and justice. The general council, we have seen, entered zealously into his cause; and the chapter of his cathedral, among the members of which he was necessarily most intimately known, regarded him with the most profound respect, and employed two of their members to watch over his

* Llorente, t. III., c. xxxiii., p. 283.

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interests, with the especial charge never to leave him, even for a moment, either during his journey or in his sojourn at Rome. On his arrival in that city he was taken to the castle of St. Angelo, but the apartments assigned him were those commonly occupied by the Pontiff himself. From the windows he had a full view of the meanderings of the Tiber. This, to his broken spirits and exhausted frame, afforded an invigorating source of health and comfort; and his attendants rejoiced in seeing him daily recover some portion of his former strength. To the honour both of the Pope and the chapter of Toledo, the applications of the latter in favour of the prelate were always answered in a kind and loving spirit. "I have read your letters," said Pius, "with satisfaction. They breathe the noblest sentiments, and prove the tender interest which you take in the fate of your bishop. Seek the assistance of the Holy Spirit, and implore Him to bring this matter to a happy termination." The Pope soon discovered that even the papers necessary to the just prosecution of the trial had not been sent complete. He was therefore obliged to send an especial envoy into Spain, to demand of the Inquisition the documents which were missing. These were obtained with great difficulty, and they were found to be only such as were favourable to the justification of the accused.

This recital would be out of place, did it not serve to indicate the true character of the times, and the position in which the faithful and uncompromising advocates of the gospel must necessarily have stood. Carranza, with all the interest which he now possessed, remained still a prisoner. The sovereign Pontiff had been convinced of his innocence. He was on the point of ordering his discharge; but at this moment the war against the Turks claimed his attention. It was necessary to conciliate Philip, and he dare not finish the process in favour of the prelate, lest he might thereby provoke his most Christian Majesty, and injure the cause on which the safety of Christendom in general seemed then to be depending.

When every art had been exhausted which could

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retard the completion of the process, the Pontiff decided, that Carranza was innocent of the charge of heresy, but directed that he should make a Latin translation of his Catechism, and that none of his works should be circulated till they had undergone such corrections as might remove the doubts which existed respecting their orthodoxy. Philip, it is said, on receiving intelligence of the decision, expressed a feeling little in accordance with the judgment of the Pontiff, who had hoped, by his partial censure of Carranza's want of clearness in the treatises mentioned, to satisfy both the monarch and the holy office. Philip, on the contrary, returned for answer, that the Inquisition was greatly dishonoured by the proceedings at Rome, and that it was impossible there should be so many Lutheran errors in the writings of Carranza if he himself was not a heretic. Essays were composed, by his order, refuting the doctrines advanced in the Catechism; and such was the disaffection felt towards the Pope for his conduct in the business, that one of the partisans of Philip did not fear to say, that the death of a Pontiff like Pius V. would be of little consequence to the Church, seeing that he paid so much regard to the Dominican monk, and could, for him, compromise the honour of the Inquisition of Spain, which would doubtless gain greatly by his death." *

The accession of the new Pontiff, Gregory XIII., furnished Philip with fresh means of delaying the restoration of Carranza. Gregory, as Cardinal Buoncompagni, had been employed in Spain by his predecessor to examine the evidence against the archbishop, and protect him from injustice. The King, however, now insisted that he had further evidence against the prelate, and he employed both threats and promises to induce the learned men who had spoken well of Carranza's writings to reverse their statements. It is a melancholy proof of the weakness of human nature, of the little strength which it can derive from station or acquirements, and

* Pius died soon after this, and not without suspicion of unfair treatment; but there does not seem to be any proper evidence for such a notion. Llorente, t. III., p. 298.

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of the sad state of degradation to which men of eminence were in those days prostrated, that several of those who had before spoken well of the archbishop's treatises yielded to Philip's persuasions, and now pretended to find in them weighty proofs of heresy.*

Anxious as Gregory was to do justice to Carranza, he could not contend with the inexhaustible resolution of Philip and the holy office to effect their object. He found himself, therefore, compelled to pronounce judgment against the persecuted prelate; but the sentence was far milder than that which would have been passed under different auspices. Carranza was condemned to abjure the heresies laid to his charge; to remain suspended five years from the execution of his archiepiscopal functions; to be confined for that period to the Dominican convent of Orviette, in Tuscany, and to perform certain spiritual exercises in token of his submission and penitence.

Sixteen propositions were selected from the suspected writings as demanding especial note in the archbishop's abjuration. These were, that works done without the spirit of charity, of whatsoever kind they be, are sins, and offensive in the sight of God; that faith is the first and principal means of insuring justification; that man is formally justified by the righteousness of Jesus Christ, and hence it is that he has merited for us; that no one obtains a share in the righteousness of Christ, if he have not a firm and positive faith that he has obtained it; that those who are in a state of mortal sin cannot comprehend the Holy Scriptures, nor discern the things which pertain to the faith; that natural reason is contrary to faith in matters of religion; that the germ of sin subsists in the baptized with the same quality of sin; that true faith no longer exists in the sinner when he has lost grace by sin; that penitence is equal to baptism, and is nothing else than a new life; that our Lord Jesus Christ has satisfied for our sins in a manner so effica-

* It is amusing to hear of the number of errors detected in Carranza's works. The archbishop of Grenada calculated them to amount to 75 in the Catechism, as printed in the Castilian language, but to only 31 in the Latin copy. He found 292 in the manuscripts not yet sent to the press. Llorente, t. III., p. 300.

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cious and so entire, that there is not required of us any other satisfaction; that faith without works suffices for salvation; that Jesus Christ was not a legislator, and that it did not enter into his plan to give laws; that the actions and the works of saints are only useful to us by way of example, and cannot aid us in any other manner; that the use of images and the veneration of relics are customs purely human; that the Church has not now the same light or the same authority as the primitive Church; and lastly, that the condition of the apostles, and the religious state, or that of monks, differ not from the state of Christians in general.

These propositions Carranza renounced, according to the purport of his sentence. He then entered upon the performance of the services assigned him, and his demeanour exhibited so much patience, resignation and holiness of feeling, that the Pope seemed fully justified in the regard and favour with which he treated him from the first to the last of this distressing affair. But his strength was too much exhausted to enable him, without injury, to go through the services in which he was engaged. While performing mass, his weakness brought on an affection which he sought to conceal, and he was thereby thrown into a sickness which ended his life in a few days.

When at the point of death, he gathered around him his friends and advisers. He was anxious, he said, to speak to them with his last breath respecting the suspicions under which he had so unhappily fallen. He then called to witness the celestial court, and for his judge the Sovereign Lord who was present in the sacrament he had just received, and the angels whom he had ever chosen as his intercessors. Having made this solemn appeal, he continued, "I swear by the Almighty God, and in this awful moment, while looking to the account which I am about to render before him, that during all the time I professed theology in my order, and in whatsoever I have written, or said in preaching, whether in Spain, Germany, Italy or England, I have ever endeavoured to exalt the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to combat heresy. Nor has the Divine Majesty dis-

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dained to succour me in these efforts, since many heretics in England were converted by the grace then given, and others, at my desire, have been burnt to establish the power of the Inquisition. Both Catholics and heretics have given me the title of 'First Defender of the Faith,' and with truth can I declare, that I have ever been ready to labour in this holy work, and to do what might be pleasing to the King our master. I have loved him, and do love him to a degree which has never been exceeded by the love of a son to his father. Still further, also, do I protest, that in the whole course of my life I have never taught or preached heresy, or anything whatever opposed to the true faith of the Roman Church; that I have fallen into none of the errors of which I have been declared suspected through a false interpretation of my language; and I swear, by all that which I have said, by that Lord whom I have taken for my judge, that it has never entered into my thoughts to publish the things spoken of in my process; that I have never entertained the least doubt respecting these doctrines; but, on the contrary, have professed, written, taught and preached the holy faith with the same firmness with which I now profess it in the hour of death. Yet I do not refuse to acknowledge as just the sentence passed upon me, for it has been pronounced by the vicar of Christ. I have received it as such, and know that it has proceeded from one who unites to the quality of the Lord's vicegerent that of a judge endowed with faithfulness and prudence beyond suspicion. Thus ready to depart, I pardon whatever of wrong has been committed against me; I forgive those who have opposed me in the process; I have entertained no resentment against them, but have commended them to the favour of God, as I do at this moment and shall do in that place of happiness which I hope to reach through the mercy of the Lord."

We have related these events respecting Carranza, as proving better than more direct evidence the condition of the Spanish reformers, or the little possibility which existed of their supporting themselves against the untiring hostility of the Inquisition, and the government

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which upheld it. While the process against this prelate was advancing to its termination, the holy office carried on its plans for the uprooting of Lutheranism with equal vigour and success. Augustin Cazalla perished in the auto-da-fé of 1559, after so far yielding to the terrors of approaching suffering as to offer for his life a confession which would have still further involved his brethren in the toils of their enemies. The day on which he suffered is celebrated in the annals of Spanish persecution; and to the enormities which it beheld has been attributed the rising of that angry and indignant feeling in Germany, and other countries, which from that moment never ceased to assail the proceedings of the Inquisition.*

Cazalla had long occupied a conspicuous station among those who professed the reformed opinions in Valladolid. His sufferings excite our sympathy; but in times like those in which he lived, the death of such a man is viewed as the almost necessary consequence of his bold and arduous exertions. There is not, however, the same support to the feelings when we trace the record that speaks of sufferers whose only offence was a calm and unboasting love of the gospel of Jesus Christ. The standard-bearers of the cross must expect to endure the heat of the battle, and, if needs be, to drink of the gall, and sweat the bloody drops of agony; but those who only meekly seek, in the words of life, peace to their hearts and consciences, when dragged from their homes to suffer the terrors of pitiless persecution, call for an expression of sorrow of a sadder and softer kind. Such calls upon our sympathies are frequent in the history of Spanish Protestantism. Women of the most amiable character, and of retired dispositions, suffered at the hands of the Inquisition the same punishment as the boldest of its opponents. Humble-minded men, again, occupying situations in life which rendered them content with every thing around them but a corrupted gospel, were seized and treated as the basest malefactors, for no other offence than that of listening to divine truth, and acknowledging that it comforted their hearts. It

* Llorente, t. II., p. 219.

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is not necessary to our purpose to relate the particulars which attended the suppression of the reformed principles in Spain. The auto-da-fés of Valladolid and Seville consigned to the flames men who were an ornament to their country, and who, had they been spared, would have proved its greatest benefactors. A day of retribution has already come, and Spain has been made to feel the punishment due to such iniquities. The Reformation ceased to be heard of before the close of the sixteenth century. Every evil which can attend the unresisted corruptions of an imbecile government then began to be visible. The voice of truth and holiness, which could alone have checked the growth of misery, had been silenced. To the Inquisition was intrusted the care of the country's faith, dignity and power, and they perished under its sway, a consequence which has ever followed the commission of the precious treasures of a nation to the guardianship of such protectors.

CHAP. V.

COUNCIL OF TRENT.

To no class of events in the history of religion, in later times, can our attention be more profitably turned than to those which concern the Council of Trent. Important in itself, as an assembly consisting of the representatives of a Church which had long governed the opinions and consciences of mankind, it determined the character of the Reformation, placed in the fullest light, that learning and ingenuity could afford, the principal subjects of theological controversy, and settled politically the boundaries of papal and protestant influence.

It was not till after many efforts on the part of those who desired the reformation of the Church, that the court of Rome could be persuaded to summon a general council. Such assemblies, if fairly constituted, must

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prove fatal to tyranny, under whatever form it shrouds its injustice. The papal power had already suffered, by being subjected to the too close observation of its ordinary supporters. By the Council of Trent it was again exposed to an inquiry which threw an almost dazzling light upon many of its errors and corruptions. The very sentiments of its advocates, as recorded in the annals of the council, bear testimony against it, and prove that it needed a reformation as complete and fundamental as that proposed by the Protestants. Though terminating in the establishment of its dogmas, and the assertion of its haughty claims to universal dominion, it put a check upon its arbitrary decrees, from which it has never since been able to get free. The condition of the Church, and, to a great degree, its internal character, were permanently affected by the Council of Trent; and notwithstanding the arts so sedulously practised to limit its proceedings, the apprehensions of the Pontiffs were in many respects fulfilled.

Obliged by the clamour of enemies, and the urgent advice of many members of his own court, to make preparations for a council, Paul III. issued a bull in the month of June 1536, whereby the representatives of the Church were summoned to Mantua. Strong objections had been made to the choice of any place in which liberty of debate might be endangered by the proximity of Rome or its confederates. These were well known to both the Pope and the Emperor, but it was now expedient that the affair should be prosecuted without delay, and Chancellor Held was despatched to the court of Saxony to entreat the Elector not to oppose the present proceedings. The answer of the prince was embodied in that of his party. "We do not," said the reformers, "object to the city of Mantua because it is wanting in convenience, but because a war is now raging in the country, and the brother of its sovereign is a cardinal, and a close ally of the Pope. There are cities in Germany as fit for the purpose as Mantua; and in which we should have nothing to fear from the injustice of an adverse power. In the antient councils regard was ever had to the protection of those summoned

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to attend them. The example of what occurred at the Council of Constance, when the Emperor Sigismund could not secure attention to the safe conduct which he had granted, proves that we ought not to trust too much even to the expected presence of his successor."

But the Duke of Mantua himself removed this difficulty in the way of the reformers; and, had it been the only one, they might still have been found at the council. The prince was alarmed at the prospect of seeing his state occupied by Roman politicians; and represented to the Pope that, without the assistance of an army, he could not expose his people to the dangers which might attend the presence of such an assembly.* A reasonable pretext was thus furnished the Pontiff for proroguing the meeting; but such was the general feeling on the subject, that both parties accused him of vacillation, when he referred to the Duke of Mantua's objections as justifying the delay. In the month of November a bull was published appointing Vicenza as the place of meeting, and fixing the opening of the council in the May of the following year. This arrangement obtained no greater favour at the hands of the King of England, or the other protestant princes, than the former. The legates took their station, at the time fixed, in the city of Vicenza, but they were joined by none of the bishops; and the meeting was again prorogued for another year.

The colloquy at Worms, to which the Pope and the Emperor gave their assent, was regarded as a prelude to the council; but it produced no other effect than that of convincing both parties that another spirit must preside over their deliberations before any profit could be derived from such meetings. It however became evident, that more injury would be done to Rome by further tampering with public sentiment on the subject of a council, than could result from more direct and bolder measures. In a conference between the Pope and the Emperor, at Lucca, it was determined, that the council

* Hist. du Con. de Trente, par Fra. Paolo Sarpi: Ed. Courayer: t. I., liv. i., p. 151. Pallavicini Hist. Concil. Trident. lib. IV., c. iii., sec. 1–5. Sleidan, t. II., liv. xi., p. 36.

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should be held at Vicenza, as already proposed. But another difficulty immediately presented itself: the Venetian senate had discovered, as the Duke of Mantua had done before, that the concourse of strangers expected to attend the meeting might prove injurious to the safety of the citizens.*

At the Diet of Spire, which extended its sittings to the beginning of the year 1542, Moron, bishop of Modena, stated in the name of the Pope, that there was the most earnest disposition, on the part of Rome, to hold a general council, which had only been suspended at the instance of the Emperor, and for the purpose of making a further effort to restore the peace of Germany. The Pontiff could not, he added, consent to summon the assembly in that country. He desired to be present himself, and his age and infirmities prohibited him from attempting so long a journey, or exposing himself to so violent a change of climate. Ferrara, Bologna, Placentia, were noble and convenient cities, and either might be chosen; or should they be objected to, as distant from Germany, the city of Trent, which was on its very borders, would not be refused by the Pope. Ferdinand and his allies acknowledged, as might have been expected, the graciousness of this offer; but the Protestants persisted in their former declarations, that they would take no part in the proposed meeting till the circumstances under which it was convened left no suspicion of unfairness or intrigue.

Trent was finally chosen as the place of assembly, and the bull which appeared in the month of May ascribed the choice of this city to the paternal regard of the Pope for the Germans, and the earnest desire which he had to see them present at the meeting. The summons was circulated with great expedition, and the representatives of the several states were directed to assemble in the month of November. A war between the Emperor and the King of France, the known hostility of Henry VIII.,

* Another reason also was alleged. A treaty had lately been entered into with the Turk; and it was feared that if Vicenza were the place of meeting, the Sultan might suspect the republic of being engaged in forming a confederacy of the Christian princes against him.—Paolo Sarp., t. I., liv. i., p. 180.

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and the defection of so many of the German princes, offered numerous obstacles to the efficiency of the proceeding. But on the 26th of August the three cardinals appointed to represent the Pontiff in the council took their journey to Trent. They were met there by the ambassadors of the Emperor; and the latter expressed their desire that the business of the assembly might be immediately commenced. The legates, however, referred to the small number of persons present, as a sufficient reason for delay; and after seven months, in which no step had been taken towards the opening of the debate, both the cardinals and the ambassadors disappeared. By a bull, dated July 6, 1543, the meeting was formally suspended, and the Pope uttered bitter complaints that the state of affairs should have prevented the fulfilment of his wishes.*

The restoration of peace between the Emperor and the King of France, promised facilities for the re-assembling of the council, which encouraged Paul III. to issue a bull in the month of November,† announcing

* Le Plat. Monumentorum ad Historiam Concilii Tridentini, t. III., p. 195.

† The following is one of the early bulls issued on this occasion: Paulus episcopus, servus servorum Dei, ad futuram rei memoriam. Cum prophetæ vox nostris in auribus jugiter insonet: *Clama, ne cesses,* idque præcipuum munus ex onere nostris injuncto humeris, licet his impari, nobis incumbere agnoscamus, ipsa præsertim temporum calamitate, ac hæresum undique pullulantium pernicie, in intimis adeo pulsamur præcordiis, ut nobis ipsis pro sancta universali Ecclesia, ac Dominici gregis nostræ curæ crediti salute, nunquam satis operæ, laboris ac solicitudinis adhibere posse videamur. Tot igitur ac tantis turbinibus aliquando sedandis nullum æque salutiferum ac præsentissimum remedium comperiri semper existimavimus, quam sanctissimi œcumenici concilii celebrationem indicere, ad sananda scilicet Catholicæ Ecclesiæ vulnera, ab impiis infidelibus reprobisque hæreticis eidem inflicta.

Una igitur hac ratione sanctissimam synodum a nobis Tridenti jamdudum indictam, hodierna luce aperiri mandavimus, eam sine optato, Spiritu Sancto adjuvante, conclusam iri et optatam orbi Christiano salutem allaturam denique sperantes. Œcumenicum autem cum sit consilium hoc, decet a cunctis fidelibus humili et contrito corde devotisque precibus celebrari, ut quos adesse coram opus fuerit, ii multorum orationibus adjuti, gratius in rebus catholicæ fidei, dictæque universalis Ecclesiæ reformationis ibi peragendis, omnipotenti Deo exhibere valeant obsequium.

Quamobrem omnes Christi fideles hujusmodi hortamur ac in Domino requirimus, ut posteaquam hæ nostræ literæ ad eorum manus pervenerint, et per locorum ordinarios publicatæ fuerint, diligenti peccatorum suorum perscrutatione et examine præviis, se ad eorum confessionem, in hebdomada earumdem literarum publicationem immediate sequenti, de more Ecclesiæ

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the renewal of its meetings in the following March. Having spoken of the joy which filled his breast at the return of tranquillity, he enumerates the attempts which had been made to secure the attendance of the hierarchy in a general council. The failure of these efforts was sufficiently discouraging; but no impediment, no difficulty could deter him from prosecuting a design which had for its object the peace and happiness of the Church. "No sooner, therefore," says he, "had this most joyful day shone forth, and hope returned to encourage us with the prospect of success, than we employed our whole ability to effect the purpose for which principally peace was so earnestly desired. Thus we have followed the exhortation of the prophet who, having taught us to seek

subeundam præparent, et illa confiteantur, quartaque ac sexta feria ipsius hebdomadæ, necnon die sabbati jejunent. Dominica vero die proxime sequenti, sacratissimam corporis Domini nostri Jesu Christi eucharistiam sumant, Deum ex intimis cordis pro Christianorum omnium pace, et pro salutifero et tranquillo ac fructuoso ejusdem sacrosancti œcumenici concilii progressu et prosecutione orantes, ac ut præfatos Christi fideles ad hoc etiam præmiis cœlestibus invitemus, omnibus et singulis Christi fidelibus ipsis, qui præmissa adimpleverint, et processionibus ac supplicationibus quarta et sexta feriis ac sabbati die prædictis, eo ordine, qui in alma urbe nostra Romæ observatus extitit, publice habendis, interfuerint, aut qui adversa valetudine seu alio impedimento detenti, ac abbatissæ, priorissæ et monasteriorum quorumcumque moniales, etiam sub clausura existentes, et eisdem processionibus interesse nequeuntes, si eleemosinam juxta eorum devotionem et facultatem alicui pauperi Christi pie fuerint elargiti, aut si inopes extiterint, Dominicam orationem cum salutatione angelica quinquies recitaverint, et præmissorum loco pias ad Deum preces devote effuderint, ejusdem omnipotentis Dei benignitate ac misericordia, beatorumque ejus apostolorum Petri et Pauli auctoritate freti, plenissimam omnium peccatorum suorum veniam et remissionem misericorditer in Domino concedimus et elargimur.

Et ut hæc omnia ad plurium notitiam pervenere valeant, simulque Deus ipse misericors a quam plurimis exoretur, omnibus patriarchis, archiepiscopis, episcopis et aliis Ecclesiarum prælatis, ut quam primum eædem præsentes literæ ad eorum manus pervenerint, eas seu earum transumtum manu alicujus prælati seu personæ in dignitate ecclesiastica constitutæ subscriptum, ubique per eorum provincias, ecclesias, civitates et diœceses absque ullo quæstu, cum gratiis, concessionibus et indulgentiis ibidem contentis gratis publicari faciant, in virtute sanctæ obedientiæ præcipiendo mandamus, constitutionibus et ordinationibus apostolicis et aliis contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque.

Volumus autem quod hujusmodi processiones et supplicationes unica tantum vice in civitationibus, terris, castris et locis, et in ecclesiis, in quibus præcipua animarum cura injuncta reperitur, duntaxat fiant et habeantur, præsentibus, postquam in urbe ac provinciis, ecclesiis, civitatibus et diœcesibus prædictis publicatæ fuerint, ac quarta et sexta feria et dies sabbati hujusmodi præterierint, minime valituris. Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum anno incarnationis Dominicæ MDXLV. idibus Decembris pontificatus nostri anno XII.—Le Plat. tom. III., pp. 288–290.

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peace, adds, also, 'and pursue it;' and this we think cannot be more effectually done than by the way of a council."

Ascribing the present favourable aspect of affairs to the great mercy of God, the Pontiff prayed that none might fail to attend the meeting whose duty it was to take part in its deliberations. The objects contemplated were these, first, that the discord which had so long ravaged the Church might be utterly suppressed; next, that those things which demanded reform, as becoming a Christian Church, might be corrected; and, lastly, that by a common decree and the energy of all, the faithful might be restored to those rightful possessions which had been seized by infidels, and so provision be made for the restoration of the many thousands of souls that were now in danger of miserably perishing. The several patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, abbots, and all others who had by right or privilege a place in the council, are then summoned to appear, their neglect to attend, except from reasonable causes, being described as involving the guilt of perjury.*

The haste with which this document was issued offended the Emperor, and created no slight suspicion of the Pontiff's candour and sincerity. Charles resolved, therefore, to pursue his favourite line of policy, and counteract Roman arts by anticipating their object in his own favour. The divines of Louvain were directed to examine the doctrines about to be proposed to the consideration of the council. In obedience to this command, thirty-three articles were drawn up by the theologians of the university, and these were confirmed by an imperial edict, and an order directing them to be received as of divine authority. This proceeding was calculated to prove highly offensive to the Pope. It intimated the readiness of the temporal sovereign to exert his authority in matters purely ecclesiastical, and bore too near a resemblance to the conduct of the English monarch, and other protestant princes, not to alarm as well as irritate and offend.† This dangerous dispute was

* Le Plat. t. III., p. 255.

† Paolo Sarpi, t. I., liv. ii., p. 201. Le Plat. t. III., p. 250. Pallavicini, lib. v., c. vii. Sleidan, t. II., liv. xvi., p. 240.

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only quieted by the necessities of Charles, who, finding himself on the point of being again involved in strife with his powerful rivals, deemed it wise not to provoke the Pope by any further resistance to his plans.

Three cardinals, each representing one of the orders of the clergy, were appointed legates to the council. Paul might fairly urge the weight of his years and infirmities when he excused himself from attending the council in person. The three legates were the Cardinal del Monte, bishop of Palestina; Marcel Cervin, priest of St. Cross; and Reginald Pole, cardinal deacon of St. Mary in Cosmedin. To these distinguished ecclesiastics was committed the charge of defending the purity of catholic doctrine, and the interests of the Roman court, a task replete with manifold difficulties, but which the Pontiff was now as anxious to see undertaken as he had formerly been to prevent the mention of its necessity. Too impatient to await the time for the general assembling of the bishops, and other dignitaries expected to attend the council, he despatched two of his legates before either ambassadors or prelates had arrived to receive them. Cardinal Pole was detained for a time by the suspicion, it is alleged, that the King of England had laid wait for him in the way.* The other legates reached Trent on the 13th of March, and were met by the bishop of the place, Cardinal Madruccio. Ten days after, the ambassador of the Emperor arrived, and by this time three bishops had joined the party. But this afforded only a bad prospect to those who were eager to see assembled under the banners of the Pope the whole strength of the Catholic Church. The politic bearing of the imperial ambassador served still further to depress the minds of the legates; and they impatiently heard him desire, that the discussion on the subject of reform might be commenced without delay.† The appearance of things was not improved by the arrival of other bishops. It began to be manifest that,

* Pallavicini Hist. Concil. Trident. lib. v., c. viii., p. 191. Rainaldi, Annales Eccles. t. xiv., an. 1545, sec. 2. Retardatus est Reginaldus Polus, cum Henricus Angliæ Rex, in vias efferatior illius vitæ insidias compararet.

† Paolo Sarpi, t. i., liv. ii., p. 205.

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cautiously as the court of Rome had proceeded, it would require the exercise of a most refined policy to keep in subjection to its purposes the elements now called into action. Tidings from Worms, where the diet was at present sitting, were looked for with anxiety; and, apprehensive of its determination, the legates allowed the day appointed for the opening of the discussions to pass unnoticed.

The report of what had taken place at Worms convinced the representatives of Rome that their cause was but badly aided by the Emperor. Things, however, were left in a state of sufficient uncertainty to allow of their temporizing with the council, and awaiting some change in affairs that might better enable them to advance the interests of their court. By orders received from home, they were directed to proceed at once to the business of the council, should any attempt be made in the Diet of Worms to interfere with the exclusive authority of the Church in matters of religion. This was not done to an extent which seemed to authorize their acting at a moment so little favourable to Roman ascendancy. The Pope himself had no confidence in his present position. Only four bishops had, as yet, answered the summons, made in language which it might have been thought would have stirred the heart of every faithful and devoted servant of the Church. The apprehension, on the other side, that King Ferdinand, from whose zeal much was expected, would regard with displeasure the delays of the council, urged to immediate action. In their letter to the Pope, the legates argued the propriety of pausing for a time, but fairly acknowledged that they were full of doubts and perplexities. There was reason, they said, to suspect that the Emperor cared little about the council, for that his ambassador, since the first audience, had not said a word on the subject. They feared that this conduct proceeded from the determination of the monarch to take upon himself the management of the disputes which had arisen respecting religion, and that he intended to justify his interference by alleging the want of activity and zeal on the part of the Church. This

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being the case, they advised his Holiness to pursue a middle path, and to authorize them to open the council by chanting the mass of the Holy Spirit before the Emperor could take his place in the diet. Having done this, it could not be said that they were wanting in diligence, while it would be easy for them, so long as only four persons were present, to continue or suspend the proceedings of the assembly according to circumstances.*

Many considerations of a lighter kind occupied the thoughts of the legates while waiting the determination of the Pontiff on the main subject of their inquiry. They had, in the fulness of their joy, when first entering the gates of Trent, bestowed upon the people a rich gift of indulgences. When the fervour of their feelings had somewhat subsided, they saw the possibility of the Pope's refusing to confirm the boon. It became necessary, therefore, that they should petition his Holiness to ratify their grant, and this they did with an earnestness which shows into how strange a dilemma they might have been precipitated. So little prepared, moreover, were some of the bishops who had been called to take a part in the council, to meet the expenses attendant on the journey, that the legates were obliged to furnish them with the means of support. Even in their own case, only a few months had elapsed when they were driven to declare, that, unless the Pope supplied them with additional funds, it would be impossible for them to support the dignity of their station. The demand of the imperial ambassador, who insisted on occupying a place next the throne of the president, afforded another subject for correspondence; and weeks and months were expended before any definite prospect existed of the opening of the council.

The want of decision which prevailed in the Roman court at this period, and the appearance of intrigue among the parties concerned in arranging the business of the proposed assembly, are little in accordance with what we naturally feel ought to be looked for in the

* Paolo Sarpi, t. 1., liv. ii., p. 210. Pallavicini, lib. v., c. x.

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preparations of a meeting intended to represent the general interests of Christendom. But, offended as an honest and pious mind must be at the mixture of worldly feelings and contentions with matters that intimately concern the glory of God, it would be unjust to charge the Council of Trent with a larger number of offences against evangelical simplicity than are ordinarily committed, where men of politic character meet together to establish the interests of their party. Disputes for superiority; contrivances to secure the vantage ground in controversy; an anxious regard to private aggrandizement; the employment of language indicative of duplicity, of pride, or meanness, are things which offend the eye of the Christian in most of the pictures which represent the meeting of large bodies of public men. That the court of Rome did not proceed with the simple regard to holiness which it might be supposed would animate a congregation of faithful believers, must readily be acknowledged; but it was as a court that the authors of the Council of Trent now acted; nor would it have been possible, in the condition in which it at present existed, to pursue a course less open to censure. It was most deeply involved in the politics of Europe. Princes and states were its rivals; and, far as it had gone in the career of worldly ambition, there were almost insuperable obstacles to its extricating itself in time to hold a council which should not exhibit the ordinary features of the world. This is not said to apologize for a corrupt church, but to show that it would be lost time to reason on circumstances connected with this council, as if it had arisen under auspices purely ecclesiastical. The machinery of a political system, abounding in expedients, had long been employed in the defence of Roman supremacy. Its best and most powerful energies were now needed, and it was accordingly made to put forth its strength to the uttermost. This was in mere obedience to maxims which it had been customary to follow without a question. Rome demanded the protection of a spiritual sovereignty; but events had taken from such a domination its main sup-

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ports, and it could only be defended for the future by contrivances bold or insidious, more or less honest, according to times and circumstances.

On the 3d of May, ten bishops having arrived, a congregation was held for the purpose of considering certain measures preparative to the opening of the council.* In this meeting the important questions were discussed, whether there ought not to be two chairs, richly ornamented, placed, but left empty, in honour of the Pope and the Emperor; whether the ambassador of the latter should take precedence of all other ambassadors; whether such of the German bishops as were princes of the empire should rank higher than the rest, and sit before the archbishops. These questions were left undetermined; but it was decided that the three cardinal legates, though different in degree as to the priesthood, should bear the same ornaments, and be habited in vestments of equal grandeur; and it was also agreed, that the hall in which the sittings were to be held should be richly decorated with tapestry. But not a word was uttered respecting the day when the business of the assembly should commence. This was deferred till further information arrived from Rome; and the imperial ambassador saw, with satisfaction, that his master would have ample time to take whatever measures he chose to nullify the policy of the Pope.

The Cardinal Farnese had been despatched to Worms for the purpose of watching the proceedings, and employing whatever arguments could be suggested, to prevent the Emperor from giving to the diet the appearance of an assembly which had any right to decide on matters of religion. He accordingly endeavoured to convince the monarch that the opposition which the Protestants offered to the council ought not to be regarded; that they had introduced the most dangerous novelties; and, having thrown off the yoke of obedience to the Church, would soon cast aside that also which bound them to the empire. It was his majesty's interest, therefore, he urged, to compel them to accept the terms

* Paolo Sarpi, t. i., liv. ii., p. 214.

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of the council, and, if they still resisted, then to attack them with an armed force, provision for which would be made by the Pope himself.* The cardinal was distressed at the cool and cautious answers returned to these exhortations. A short time before, he might have accounted for such a reception by the difficulties attending the war with France and Turkey. But no reason of this kind could now be assigned; and his suspicious nature led him to conclude that Charles was planning his schemes so as to keep the Protestants in good humour with himself, and thereby induce them to support him in whatever measures might be necessary to his interests. The assurance which had been given the reformers, that, if nothing was speedily done in the council, another diet should be convened for the express purpose of settling their claims, provoked still more the anger of the Roman court. Cardinal del Monte, on hearing the report of the circumstance, exclaimed, "I would advise the Pope rather to quit his throne, and give the keys back to St. Peter, than allow the secular power to usurp the right of judging in religion, under the pretence that the ecclesiastical has failed in its duty, or by excuses founded on the delays of the council."†

Before the end of May, the legates had the satisfaction to see themselves surrounded by twenty bishops and the generals of five of the religious orders. But the pleasure which they derived from finding that the plans of the council were not likely to prove abortive, was in no slight degree diminished by the complaints which soon

* This provision, it is said, was to be derived from certain ecclesiastical revenues in Spain, and from the sale of vassalages. Charles, according to the account of Pallavicino, expressly stated, that nothing was to be expected from the German Catholics; that he, having expended so much treasure in the late war, had nothing to offer but himself; and that, therefore, whatever was needed, should the Protestants be roused to war, must come from the Pope. This writer does not acknowledge that Farnese had it in commission to speak of war; but other writers, on both sides, state that he had.—Pallavicini, lib. v., c. xii., sec. 1. Paolo Sarpi, t. I., liv. ii., p. 216. Sleidan, t. II., liv. xvi., p. 257.

† Pallavicini Hist. Con. Trident. lib. v., c. xii., sec. 6. It was at this period also that a Franciscan preacher called upon the Emperor personally, in his public discourse, to defend the cause of the Church by arms, which ought, he said, to have been done long before. Farnese was frightened at the anger of the Emperor at this impolitic outbreak of zeal, and left Worms in the night.—Sleidan, t. II., liv. xvi., p. 258.

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rose on all sides from the discontented prelates, who could not conceal their vexation at the dullness of Trent, and the ill-contrived measures which had summoned them from their homes so long before it seemed necessary. The imperial ambassador rejoiced in his privileges, and repaired to Venice. Several of the bishops entreated the legates to allow them to seek a temporary refreshment in that busy resort of both the gay and the learned. But this was positively refused. The cardinals dreaded being left alone again, and pleaded their want of power to grant the favour desired. There was, however, a still stronger reason than that of their disgust and weariness to make the bishops impatient of their situation. Some of them began to feel the positive miseries of poverty, and the rest bore the expenses to which they were put as a grievous burden. The murmurs at length amounted to a threat of separation; and this would probably have taken place had not forty ducats a month been given to three of the poorer bishops, and abundance of promises and flattery to the rest.*

The difficulties created by the secret policy of the Emperor seemed to increase every day; and the Pope had at one time serious thoughts of overcoming them by another translation of the council. Charles, on being appealed to respecting the matter, exhibited the utmost uncertainty, but finally proposed, that the council should be opened, and that it should treat of reformation, but without alluding to heresies, or to the dogmas embraced by the Protestants of Germany.

To such a proposal it was impossible that the Pontiff could assent, without yielding much that was essential to his own honour and to the dignity of the council.

* Pallavicini Hist. lib. v., c. xiii., sec. 2, c. xiv., s. 7. Qui convenerant hoc est, episcopi et oratores, videbantur eam urbem fastidire pertæsi augustias domicilii, loci asperitatem, cœli inclementiam, soli sterilitatem. Cum autem corporis incommoda diuturniora sunt, ægerrime tolerantur; quippe vitæ conservationi per se adversantia, multoque magis ab hominibus togatis, adeoque delicatioribus. Videbantur ii libenter in commodiorem sedem abituri, præsertim nondum inflammati rerum tractatione, mutuisque altercationibus, quæ interdum homines adigunt, alios pietatis studio, alios æmulationis ardore, alios cupiditatis impetu, ad quamcumque corporis molestiam devorandam.

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The prospect of a colloquy, to be held at Ratisbonne, the following year, and in which the subject of a reformation was to be formally treated of, was not less offensive to the members of the council than to the Pope himself. It was therefore with politic attention to the views of all parties that Paul, on the 3d of October, issued his orders that the council should be opened on the third Sunday of Advent. The aspect of every thing at Trent was changed by this announcement; and many a countenance, soured by ill-nature and impatience, relaxed into an expression of hope and thankfulness at the first sound of the tidings. But in the midst of this sudden joy, the legates were thrown into confusion by the arrival of a message from the King of France, who ordered the immediate return of his bishops.* By many persuasions, the prelates, who heartily wished to escape from further attendance, or who dreaded the consequences of disobeying their monarch, were induced to depute one of their number to learn what their course ought to be now that the council was really about to commence its proceedings. This satisfied the French King, and nothing remained to prevent the indulgence of those eager expectations with which the dignitaries assembled looked forward to the approaching solemnity.

The bull which was to authorize the legates to open the assembly had not yet arrived, the former advices from the Pope being nothing more than intimations of the decision to which he had come by the advice of his consistory. But at the end of November the legates wrote to Rome, requesting the immediate despatch of the necessary instrument. On the 11th of the following month, they had the satisfaction to receive the long-desired authority; and it was immediately ordered that the next day should be consecrated by a solemn fast, and such exercises of devotion as were proper to a season pregnant with decisions so important to the Church and the world at large.†

* Paolo Sarpi, t. I., liv. ii., p. 231. Pallavicini, lib. v., c. xvi. sec. 6.

† Ubi proximus affulsit dies, inchoatum est concilium pro asserendo religione, excindendis hæresibus, alenda publica pace, expoliendis cleri

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It must have been a cold and unreflecting heart that could have seen without a feeling of religious awe the dawning of the day appointed for the opening of the council. Whatever might be the concealed intentions or policy of the Pope or the Emperor, or the princes leagued with the one or the other of these potentates, it is not to be doubted that many, and perhaps a large proportion, of the less exalted actors in the affair, were under the influence of grave and sincere emotions. When the Pontiff, therefore, called upon every believer in Christendom to unite with his brethren in the confession of sins, in the exercise of whatever could betoken deep humiliation of spirit, in solemn fasting and prayer that the members of the council might not be wanting in holiness and wisdom, the response was doubtless made by many minds which wanted nothing to render their feelings profitable, but a clearer knowledge of the objects for which such an assembly ought to have been convened.

At the commencement of the day, the legates assembled around them the twenty-five bishops who had arrived at Trent, with the numerous clergy and theologians by whom they were accompanied. These several dignitaries were clad in the splendid robes of their office; and, forming themselves in order, they proceeded amid throngs of people, who had crowded into the city from all the country round, to the church of the Holy Trinity. The mass of the Holy Spirit, a service especially appointed for such occasions, was chanted by the Cardinal del Monte, and the bishop of Bitonte preached a discourse in which he called upon the vast assembly before him to meditate with due earnestness on the vast importance of the labours which the fathers of the council were just about to commence. This was succeeded by a short address from the Cardinal del Monte, by the recital of the papal bulls, and the settling of some questions respecting the imperial ambassador.

These things being done, the members of the council

moribus, et vi hostium Christiani nominis retundenda, vetere ac solemni ritu, qui in Actis describitur.—Rainaldi Annales Eccles., t. XIV., an. 1545, p. 108.

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fell upon their knees, and employed some minutes in silent prayer. The president then recited aloud the collect beginning "Adsumus Domine, Sancte Spiritus," which was followed by the litanies, the gospel, and the "Veni Creator Spiritus." It was now for the legate to read the decree for the opening of the council, and to demand of those around him whether it was their pleasure to declare, that the holy and general Council of Trent was commenced, and for the glory of God, the extirpation of heresies, the reformation of the clergy and the people, and the overthrow of the enemies of Christ. To this appeal the other legates, the bishops, and the rest of the clergy, in their proper order, solemnly replied in the affirmative. They were next asked whether it would not be proper, leaving an interval for the observance of the Christmas festivals, to hold the next meeting of the council on the 7th of January? The answer was again in the affirmative. These replies were formally recorded, and the notaries having prepared the act commemorating this first proceeding of the council, the "Te Deum" was chanted, and the fathers returned, preceded by the legates and the cross, in the same order in which they had entered the church.*

It was of vast importance to those who sincerely desired to examine the state of religion, that the council had thus solemnly commenced its deliberations. The court of Rome could not now recede without injury to itself. While some few cardinals and bishops were only employing themselves in discussing points of etiquette, or in multiplying accusations against the German reformers, the signal for their separation might be pronounced at any moment, and their dispersion would give rise to no greater evils than such as might be set aside by the promise that another meeting should take place under circumstances better and more carefully ordered. But every sanction of religion had now been employed to seal the design; the power and spirit of God had been invoked; and it was impossible, without shaking the confidence of the people in any measure of the Church,

* Rainaldi Annales Eccles., t. xiv., p. 109. Paolo Sarpi, t. i., liv. ii. Pallavicino.

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to turn back at this period, and leave the purposed work unfinished.

Necessary, however, as it was that the plans of the council generally should be carried into effect, neither the legates, nor the other personages assembled, knew, at present, by what method they were to proceed, or what particular objects were immediately to demand their attention. The former, therefore, in the letter which they addressed to the Pope, acquainting him with the solemn opening of the council, asked for information in a manner which strikingly shows how difficult it was to support the character of a free and universal council, when both the design and object were limited by a policy at once timid and selfish.

It was essential that the proceedings of the assembly should be watched with the utmost caution, unless, indeed, much were to be left uncertain, which it was of primary importance to Rome should be ruled and established in its favour. To this end the Pope summoned to his aid his chosen counsellors, and, forming them into a permanent body, appointed them the task of rigidly observing the signs of good or evil presented by the movements of the council. In the answer to the inquiries of the legates, they were directed to commence their decrees with the formulary which described the council as holy and universal, and to avoid introducing the method of voting by nations. The instructions required to guide them in determining questions of doctrine were to be forwarded at a later period; but the present directions were accompanied by a brief, which exempted the bishops attending the council from the payment of tenths, and bestowed on the poorer members of the order 2,000 crowns as a relief to their necessities.

The 5th of January was appointed for the re-assembling of the congregation, a short meeting having taken place on the 18th of December.* Cardinal del Monte, after the usual solemnities, read the letters of the Pope, as well fitted to secure the favour and gratitude of the fathers. But the mode in which

A. D. 1546.

* This was confessedly only for the purpose of occupying the members till instructions arrived from Rome. The time was entirely taken up with

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provision had been made for the relief of the necessitous prelates created a feeling of strong dissatisfaction in the minds of the Spanish clergy. This could not be concealed; and in the present congregation they expressed their anger at the circumstance, that the wants of others were to be supplied by the sacrifice of revenues from Spain. The legates heard these complaints with impatience, and were far from being soothed by the reiterated applications of the generals of the religious orders, who claimed the same privileges as the bishops, and were followed by a whole tribe of inferior persons, none of whom thought they ought to pay taxes to the Church while engaged in its defence. It was as much out of the power of the cardinals to meet these demands, as it was distressing to them, as men of polished and refined dispositions, to encounter such appeals. Instead, however, of confessing their distress, they employed the ordinary artifices of worldly politicians, and silenced the complaints, as they best might, by apologies and promises.

It was important to the proper conducting of the business of the council, that the matters to be treated of should be considered in regular order. For this purpose, the Cardinal del Monte proposed that the last council of Latran should be taken as the model. In this assembly the prelates of which it was constituted were divided into three classes, to each of which was assigned a particular branch of the general inquiry. When the decrees were formed, a congregation of the whole was summoned, and then each member of the council gave his opinion on the question at issue. The disputes excited by the Lutherans rendered it highly necessary that the present council should be conducted with cautious attention to every point that might contribute to the regularity of its proceedings. This was successfully urged by Del Monte.* It was therefore agreed that

exhortations, and some effort to establish a series of rules for the better regulation of the thoughts and dispositions of those who were engaged in the council.—Fleury, t. VIII., art. vii., liv. cxlii., n. 4.

* The method pursued by the legate was highly injurious, it has been said, to the proper treatment of any question. The decrees ought to have been published in a full meeting, and the bishops might then have examined them at leisure, either privately or among each other. But the legates only proposed the decrees a day before the session, and as they had been

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a congregation should be held for the discussion of each branch of the controversy, and that persons should be named, properly qualified, to draw up the decrees by which the council, at large, was to be put in possession of the state of the question. The cardinal further proposed that a decree should be immediately set forth, regulating the mode in which the members of the council were to live while engaged in this holy work; but the title of the instrument gave rise to a somewhat angry dispute. The French bishops desired that to the words, "Sacrosancta Synodus," should be added, "Ecclesiam universalem representans." This advice met the views of many of the prelates from other countries. But it savoured of the spirit which had done so much injury to the power of the Pope at Constance and Basil. The Church's superiority to the dictation of Rome could not be allowed without manifest danger to the theory of pontifical government. In the palmy days of Roman grandeur, their identity was confessed as an article of Christian faith; and the Pope, who had said, "I am the Church," or, "in me are concentred its glory and its faculties," would scarcely have been contradicted by a whisper in any country of Christendom. But this feeling, of far less duration than is ordinarily supposed, had been almost driven from men's hearts by the pretensions of rival Pontiffs, and the manifold vices and follies of others. The efforts made to quiet disputes, fatal to the interests of the papacy, had been so far successful, that the supremacy of the Popes, their claims to infallibility, and other appendages to their office, were commonly allowed within the boundaries of the Roman Church. When the universal Church was spoken of, ideas were conjured up which seemed every moment about to connect themselves with views of the gospel and of the kingdom of Christ, more likely to favour a general reformation, and a return to primitive models, than to assist in the establishment of papal domination. The legates saw the necessity of silencing demands on such a subject. They observed, that

drawn up by a few of their confidants. Thus many knew nothing of the matter; others dare not speak; and the rest were too fatigued by the previous day's work to do so properly.—Lettres et Memoirs de Vargas, p. 14.

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advantage might be taken of the alteration proposed to introduce heretical notions, and ended by a positive refusal to allow any addition to be made to the formulary already employed.

One of the bishops present endeavoured to persuade the assembly, that the use of titles of any kind was little conformable, either to the spirit of the gospel, or the precedents of antient councils. This contributed to silence some of those who were anxious to introduce the words, "Ecclesiam universalem representans;" but it was advice that could not be taken, in its full extent, by those who were as anxious to retain the designation of presidents, ambassadors, and other dignities, as they were fearful of every thing which might give to the council an authority not immediately and confessedly derived from the Pope.

The Cardinal del Monte saw with alarm the agitation which followed the observations of the bishop. But he was well qualified to rule the feelings of those over whom he had been placed by his politic master. There was too little certainty, he said, respecting the subject, to determine by the example of antient councils what ought to be done. Of this however there could be no doubt; namely, that the Pope had always been regarded as the head of the Church; and that no one had ever thought of demanding the summoning of a council that should be independent of the sovereign Pontiff, till the present moment, when the Germans had dared to perpetrate this outrage on his dignity. To oppose this hateful exhibition of heresy, it was necessary that the members of the council should be firmly united with their chief, and with the legates, his representatives. However cogent the arguments of Del Monte might be, they could scarcely have convinced his opponents, without the aid which he derived from his ability to divert their thoughts from the main point of inquiry. This enabled him to escape from the immediate difficulty; and every day gave a flattering promise that the morrow would effect some change in the state of affairs, and leave the court of Rome less dependent upon the shifting foundation of opinion.

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Another meeting was held on the 7th of January; when the bishops, having assembled at the house of the president, went in solemn procession to the cathedral, preceded by the cross, and attended by a guard of three hundred men, armed with lances and arquebuses, and under the orders of the Count of Trent. Four archbishops, twenty-eight bishops, three abbots, and the generals of four religious orders were now in attendance. Besides these, there were twenty theologians, several private gentlemen, and the ambassadors of the princes who took an interest in the proceedings.* When the

* Paolo Sarpi. Fleury, t. VIII., liv. cxlii., n. 35, art. vii. The bishop of St. Mark preached on this occasion, and his discourse was really a powerful appeal to the consciences of his hearers on the subject of existing corruptions.

Respicite Romam, quæ posita in medio nationum fulgere debet tamquam luminare. Respicite Italiam, Galliam, Hispaniam, nullum gradum, nullum sexum, nullum ætatem, nullum membrum denique reperietis, quod non sit corruptum, non tabefactum, non putre. Quid verbis opus est, Scythæ, Afri, Thraces non impurius, non flagitiosius vivunt. Quamquam, O si rem ipsam eloqui non tæderet, si quæ meus animus jam pridem parturit, parere et evomere non intempestivum putarem, causam tantæ labis, fontem et originem tanti incendii aperirem, dicerem... Immo equidem proferam, non reticebo, ut tuba ex hac specula, ut parturiens vociferabor.

O pastores; O supra montem positæ civitates, qui fulgere sole clarius deberemus, nos exemplo, quod flammis obesse sævius solet, exemplo oves Domini jugulavimus; in nostros illæ mores vitamque intuentes, atque ab iis quos quanto digniores, tanto plus sapere autumabant, sibi vitæ instituta sumentes, in has nobiscum voragines inciderunt, unde nulla est ratio emergendi, nisi ad scalas unde decidimus recurramus. Numquam hoc ædificium nostro collapsum scelere restituemus, nisi eadem denuo fundamenta injiciamus, quæ Christus jecit, nisi ad eadem principia confugiamus, quibus Christus Ecclesiam ab initio fundavit, probitatem, humilitatem, pauperiem, caritatem.

A quibus tam longe aberravimus, ut non sit mirandum, si apostolis aliisque patribus, qui illas virtutes colebant, gubernacula moderantibus, nulla naufragia fiebant; nobis clavum tenentibus, videtis jam per Charybdes syrtesque jactamur. Illi, quæ aliis morte acerbior est, paupertate gaudebant, opes pro quibus tot quotidie tragœdiæ fiunt, tamquam quædam vehiculæ ad mortem fugiebant. Nos illos insanos fuisse autumamus, soli auro inhiamus, pro auro maria transimus, montes perfodimus, sub terris versamur, ruimus ad flammas, ad arma, ad venena, non profano compilando sacrove abstinemus. Humi illorum humilitas repebat, nos in nubibus habitamus, parum que videtur, si ut numen, instructis aris, nos homines colant, et quoniam adiri sic reges dicunt, ita nos abdimus, sic aditus ad nostra latibula obseramus, ut citius in quidvis opertum in quamvis instructam aciem penetraveris. Tum qui affatus, Deus bone, quod euntium supercilium, quæ minæ, ut spiramus, quam spernimus, quam fastidimus, aurei per fora et perpurei volitantes? Mansueti erant illi; nos feri, nos rapidi, nos importuni; nemo nos affatur, nos adit, quin abitum quam aditum malit, tanta est acerbitas morum immanitasque naturæ. Illi plagis discissi non querebantur; nos omnia permiscemus, æthneis flammis vehementius æstuantes, si quis vel tantillum lacessivit. Vitam illi castissime transigebant, nos omnium libidinum facibus inflammamur. Illi tormenta pro vinea propaganda, cruces,

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usual formalities were ended, the secretary read the exhortation prepared by the legate; and this was followed by the bull which had determined, in the negative, the questions arising from the desire of some absent bishops to vote by proxy. Another was also read respecting the mode of living to be adopted by the members. At the conclusion of the decree, they were asked if it met their wishes. The usual "Placet," was returned in answer; but many of the bishops still insisted on the inser-

uncos, flammasque perferebant; non minaces frontes tyrannorum, non tonitrua verborum, non imminentes jugulo carnificum gladios metuebant. Quid horum ego vel minimum facio, qui apis aculeum non fero, Sardanapalo effeminatior, delicatior molliorque Epicuro? Orbem terrarum per calores, per frigora peragrabant horridi, nudis pedibus, amicti pellibus incedebant, non gemmam ad sitim sedandam, non aurum quærebant; humi, non peristromatis conchiliatis ostrove incubabant. Horum omnium O Sacerdotes, gens sancta, quantum vestrum est, usque ad oceanum extremum, considerate, quæso, cum animis vestris, si vel unum imitamini, si non ab illis moribus omnino defluximus.

Sentio me in lubrico et scopuloso jam dudum versari, et tamen non de bonis, de malis, de facinorosis, de impuris loquor, quorum quis mollitiem, quis superbiam, quis petulantiam digne explicaverit? Quis nostra horum temporum fastidia quis luxus aut delicias ferat? Qui gurgites tanta voracitate reperiri usquam queunt, qui a nostra immensa ingluvie non superentur? De crudelitate, de avaritia quid loquar? Quæ tanta est, ut eam illorum sanguis, quos alere debebamus, nequaquam exsaturet. Hinc illa nostrarum ovium flagitia emanarunt: nostra culpa, nostra segnitie eversa sunt omnia, qui errantem gregem et profugum non revocavimus, quod confractum non solidavimus, quod ægrotum non curavimus, quod perierat non quæsivimus.

At nos si hactenus tantæ rei indormivimus, fratres, de me præcipue loquor, per illum sanguinem pro nobis fusum et per plagas precor, surgamus: denique libeat excussis temporibus considerare, quod nostrum sit onus, quod munus. Si unquam alias, nunc præcipue somniculose rem exequi non decet. Clava in manibus est, lupos qui tot circum ululant, abigamus. Nostras oves, quæ semesæ vix spirantes, vix vivæ per rupes gemunt, ab eorum faucibus eripiamus.

Hic dies, hic commodus emendandæ desidiæ ortus est, ne frustra illuxerit, ne re infecta occiderit providete. Aliter væ pastoribus, dicet omnipotens, et quidem iratus, væ pastoribus Israel, qui pascebant semetipsos: lac comedebatis, lanis operiebamini, quod pingue erat occidebatis, gregem meum non pascebatis, et dispersæ sunt oves meæ. Ergo ne talia audiamus, ne in iram post modum supremi judicis incidamus, excubemus, vigilemus, carrissimi; nam tempus est; et morum quidem vulnera plagasque videtis, quæ per Deum non horribiles, non crudeles videntur.

Aspicite nunc vulnera religionis, et si estis plumbei, non indignemini. Nam proh Dei immortalis atque hominum fidem! Nonne videtis quam nos instructæ, quam paratæ, quam firmæ transfugarum atque impiorum acies circumstent? Ut certatim contendunt, quis in te, Ecclesia sancta, ictus profundius infligat? Quis tua præcordia lethalius petat? O facinus miserandum! Quid facient inimici? Filii, quos prius cœlum casurum, quam defecturos putabas, quibus elata præcipue et superbia incedebas, quos tuo sanguine et visceribus aluisti, ut tibi murus aheneus contra hostes forent, in te cornua obverterunt, ii præcipue veluti venefiis immutati, te extinctam volunt. Huccine tui labores et vigiliæ reciderunt?—Le Plat., t. I., pp. 34–36.

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tion of the words, "Universalem Ecclesiam representans." This perseverance in a matter so offensive to the legates was spoken of in the congregation held on the 13th, as injurious to the best interests of the council. The congregations were held, it was said, in order that, in these more private meetings, every one might be at liberty to express himself as he chose; but the final object proposed was union of sentiment in the council itself, the proceedings of which would be reported to the world, and form the rule of the Church for ages to come. Nothing, it was added, could tend more to mortify the heretics, and give confidence to the faithful, than unanimity of sentiment in the members of this great assembly. With regard to the title itself, what other could be more proper than that of œcumenical, or universal? It was given by the Pope himself, and it was useless to add the term, "representing," since to be representative of the universal Church was the acknowledged character of every legitimate council, such as the present claimed to be. When the epithet was used by the Councils of Constance and Basil, it proved but their effort to supply by words and forms what they wanted in the essentials of catholicity and authority.

In conformity with this reasoning, one member of the assembly remarked, that if all the titles which properly belonged to the council were named, it would take longer to repeat them than to read the decree itself; and that therefore the example of princes should be followed, who usually put at the head of their proclamations only such of their titles as referred particularly to the business in hand. Another observed, that if the council assumed the designation, "Ecclesiam universalem representans," the Protestants would object that the Church consisted of two orders, that is of laity and clergy, and that it would not be represented unless the former, as well as the latter, were admitted to the discussions. To this a third* rejoined, that the laics could only very improperly be called the Church, since by the canons they had no authority to command; and it was

* These three dignitaries were the Cardinal Pachéco, the bishop of Feltri, and the bishop of St. Mark.—Paolo Sarpi, t. i., liv. ii., p. 251.

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one of the things which the council ought to determine, clearly showing that the people were humbly to receive the doctrines of the faith as proposed to them by the Church, without reasoning or disputation. This being the case, it would be highly becoming in the council to add the terms, "representans, &c." to its formulary. The laity would thereby be taught that they were not the Church, but only occupied the place of those whose duty it was to hear and to obey.

The legates in their despatches to Rome spoke strongly of the importance attached to the proposed alteration in the title of the council. It was, they said, generally desired, and the Pontiff's consent to the addition could not fail to be popular. But their letter referred to a subject of still greater consequence to the interests of Rome. Several of the most distinguished of the Spanish bishops had received orders from the Emperor to proceed to the council. These prelates were represented as celebrated for their learning and ability; and there was reason to fear that the object of the Emperor in sending them to Trent was little favourable to the views of the papal court. To rouse the attention of the Pope more especially to this circumstance, the legates observed, that though most of the bishops already assembled were well disposed, they had but little knowledge, and still less ability; while the few who were better qualified by talent to take part in the business of the council, were full of intrigue and difficult to be managed.*

In the following congregation, held on the 18th of the month, the discussion referred chiefly to the order in which the subject of reformation, and the treatment of doctrine, should engage the attention of the council. Some contended that as faith is the foundation of Christian holiness, the establishment of pure doctrine ought to be the first object of the council. But this was not the view of the greater number. Most desired to treat of the two subjects in unison, remarking, that faith and practice were too intimately conjoined to be spoken of apart; or to begin with examining the means of reformation, on the principle, that corruption of doctrine is

* Paolo Sarpi, t. i., liv. ii., p. 253.

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the fruit of corrupt manners. Some even there were who ventured to speak of peace as the object most earnestly to be sought; and to advise, that the Lutherans might be invited to the council, and that with such mildness and brotherly feeling as were best calculated to win their assent.

Nothing was decided on these subjects; but the meeting agreed that two congregations should be held every week; and fresh letters were sent to Rome, entreating the Pope to hasten the despatch of his directions; to aid the legates in satisfying the demands of the bishops, who were becoming impatient of the delays which interrupted the progress of their debates; and to provide for the wants of those poorer prelates, who, however humble and dependent at Rome, could not be held in subservience in a place where they knew that their votes and their sentiments were of the highest importance.*

The notices thus forwarded to Rome did not obtain the approbation which it was expected would be accorded to the diligence of the legates. Cardinal Farnese, and his associate, Maffei, whose duty it was to report the wishes of the Pontiff, expressed themselves as much dissatisfied with the liberty, which had been given to those members of the council, who spoke of entering upon the discussion of things pertaining to reformation before treating of doctrine. Those even who were willing to consider faith and practice as so intimately conjoined, that they ought never to be viewed as different subjects, obtained as little favour at Rome. Such was the feeling on the subject, that the legates were instructed to refrain from publishing the last decree, and to devote themselves entirely to the discussion of doctrine, paying no attention to the fanatical pretensions of

* Paolo Sarpi, t. I., liv. ii., p. 256. Pallavicini, lib. vi., c. vii., sec. 1. The latter author speaks with great disgust of the conduct of those bishops who manifested so little inclination to obey the precepts of Rome. Some of these, he says, were excited by ignorance of affairs; others by an imprudent zeal for religion; some by regard to their own affairs; others by the desire of gratifying the king under whose dominion they were born. One or the other of these causes led them to pursue a line of action which had for its end not so much the correction of what was wrong as the diminution of the authority of that supreme chief through whom, as the mystic vine, the power and unity of the Christian Church is sustained.

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their opponents. Doctrine, it was said, was of infinitely greater importance than manners, and ought therefore to be first considered;* a mode of reasoning which would have secured the assent of most of those who now opposed it, had it not been evidently adopted to veil the policy which shrunk from the approaches of reformation. But it would have been difficult for the most accomplished of casuists to prove, that while corruption prevailed in every province of the Church, while the clergy were involved in the depths of sensuality, and pride and avarice were their principal characteristics, the discussion of doctrine could be carried on with any fair prospect of success. The dictate of common sense was naturally this: clear away the obstructions to truth; oblige those who are battening on the rank fruits of simony, and unnumbered pluralities, to own the monstrous wickedness of their usurpations; compel those who have apostatized from every principle of Christian holiness and virtue to acknowledge their iniquities, and to commence reform, in the full conviction that sentence has been passed upon their sensuality; and then you may proceed to the examination of doctrine with a fair prospect of success, for the reasons will have been removed which rendered it impossible to appeal to scripture, to heaven, to the blessed Spirit of truth and righteousness, to determine the controversy.

So anxious was the court of Rome respecting the issue of this question, that the Pope himself wrote to his representatives at Trent, commanding them on no account to yield to their opponents, and studiously to avoid in future the discussion of the subject. But easy as it was to give these orders at a distance, the cardinals, who had to govern the movements of the council, were overwhelmed with confusion when instructed as to the wishes of the Pontiff. They had already seen enough to learn that it was only by long, secret, and careful management, the members of the great assembly over which they were placed could be made subservient to the policy of their court; and that to endeavour, at so early a stage of its progress, to rule with a despotic

* Fleury, t. VIII., art. vii., liv. cxlii., n. 39, p. 261.

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hand, would be to excite an opposition ruinous to the prospect of future tranquillity. In their letters, therefore, to Cardinal Farnese, they stated, that nothing could save them from becoming a laughing-stock to the world, if they should be obliged to revoke the decree just established, and that many, to whom they had spoken in private on the subject, had said, that the Pope should not mock them with the conduct pursued by Alexander V. in the Council of Pisa, and by Martin V. in that of Constance. A solemn promise had been given by those Pontiffs, that the councils alluded to should labour in the reformation of the numerous disorders which afflicted the Church, and deprived it of its best strength and resources. But, instead of keeping their word, they had occupied the members, to the last moment of their assembling, with the discussion of dogmas. This conduct, it was added, had led the prelates to observe, that Popes were averse to councils, because they dreaded reform. It had therefore been necessary to pass the decree, lest, by resisting, the authority of the Pontiff might be injured, instead of confirmed. Sufficient indications were given that it would have been passed, however opposed, and hence it was manifestly politic not to risk the credit of their influence and authority in continuing the struggle. The Pope allowed himself to be satisfied with the reasoning of the legates, but strongly insisted that nothing further should be done of a similar kind till he himself gave permission.

Another session was held on the 4th of February, when Ambrose Catarin, a Dominican monk, preached the accustomed sermon. This consisted of a long train of gross appeals to the vanity of the assembled prelates, for ability to pour forth which he began by a solemn appeal to the Virgin, "the most gracious, the most singularly blessed among women, who, as the first-begotten daughter, the first spouse, the most faithful companion, and, lastly, a most beloved mother, now sits before all happy souls and blessed spirits near her Emanuel."*

* Sola cogitatio excellentissimæ eruditionis, ac doctrinæ, qua tam selectam ex universo terrarum orbe synodum præfulgere conspicio, hærentem faucibus contineret sermonem, nisi vota precesque meas ad illum converterem, atque in eo fiderem, quem novimus et os mutorum aperuisse, et linguas infantium

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The Dominican's sermon was followed by the decree, which still further exhorted the fathers to clothe themselves in the spiritual armour of which St. Paul speaks, and to place their whole trust in the power and benediction of God. To secure his favour, it was said, the business of the council should thenceforth be commenced with a declaration of faith, and the assembly accordingly repeated the Nicene creed. The session produced nothing of moment; but in a congregation held soon after, Cardinal del Monte made an experiment on the feelings of the fathers, and proposed the suppression of the decree respecting the discussion of questions of reformation with those of doctrine. The bishop of Astorga immediately demanded, by what authority he could venture to propose the reversal of a decision founded on the unanimous consent of the fathers. He had assisted as a judge, he said, in the tribunals of Spain, but knew no instance in which an edict had been changed. This stern remonstrance silenced the cardinal, and he turned the attention of the meeting to another question, proposing that the Scriptures should form the topic of their next discussion, many of the points in dispute between Catholics and Lutherans owing their origin to difference of opinion respecting the authority and interpretation of the Bible.*

The legates having obtained the consent of the Pope to a more extended discussion, it was determined, that the books of the Lutherans having been examined, such of their doctrines as were contrary to the orthodox faith, should be carefully investigated by the theologians of the council, and then made the subject of formal decrees. Luther's own works furnished the following

fecisse disertas. Verum ne sine gradu ego ille miser homunculus et peccator ad thronum tantæ majestatis accedam, adibo illam quam ipse nobis instituet et advocatam piam, et sedulam precatricem. Favete votis. O, summe gratiosa, et una inter mulieres singulariter benedicta, Maria Virgo, quæ ut primogenita filia, ut primaria sponsa, ut fidelissima socia, denique mater carissima, ante omnes felices animos et beatos spiritus prope tuo Emanueli assistis, ave et impetra mihi hodie eloquium vivum, eloquium fervens, et efficax, non in corruptis humanæ eloquentiæ verbis, sed in ostentatione spiritus et virtutis; quo auditorum corda magis ac magis ad opus Dei incœptum feliciter peragendum, inflammem, in ejus gloriam, et nostram totiusque Christiani gregis lætitiam perpetuam et salutem.

Oratio habita a reverendo patre Ambrosio in tertia sessione Syn. Trident., die 4 Feb. 1546.—Le Plat., t. I., p. 46.

* Fleury, t. VIII., p. 263, liv. cxlii., n. 47. Paolo Sarpi, t. I., liv. ii., p. 265.

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propositions: First; That the necessary articles of Christian belief are all contained in scripture; that it is a human invention to join unwritten traditions to the Word of God; and that consequently it is sacrilege to place them on an equality with the Old and New Testament. Secondly; That those books only ought to be received into the canon of the Old Testament which were acknowledged by the Jews; and that neither the Epistle to the Hebrews, nor that of St. James, with the Second of St. Peter, the Second and Third of John, that of Jude, together with the Apocalypse, ought to be considered as part of the canon of the New Testament. Thirdly; That rightly to understand scripture, and properly to cite its words, it is necessary to have recourse to the original, and to reject the Latin version as full of errors. Fourthly; That the Scriptures are very plain, and easy to be understood, requiring neither gloss nor commentary, but only the anointing of the Holy Spirit.

It employed the congregation during four of its sittings to form a definitive judgment on the first and second of these propositions. Respecting the statement of the sufficiency of scripture, it was unanimously decided, that doctrine must be looked for partly in the Bible and partly in tradition; and Tertullian, Irenæus, Cyprian, and other fathers, were quoted in proof of the position. Some of the theologians engaged in the inquiry, did not shrink from asserting, that the Catholic faith rested altogether on tradition, since scripture itself owed its authority to this source. One of the disputants insisted strongly that they ought to have begun by considering the nature of the Church, the foundation of all, both scripture and tradition depending upon it.* Three archbishops and three bishops were selected to compose the decree on this subject, and the sentiments of the following congregation were in harmony with the general tenor of the statement. But the satisfaction

* Paolo Sarpi, t. I., liv. ii., p. 267. But Pallavicino denies the truth of this statement, affirming that he had examined the various authorities which were to be depended on, and could find no trace of the subject. Courayer, however, defends his author, and alleges some expressions which occur in Pallavicino and Rainaldus as confirmatory of his belief.—Pallavicini Hist. Conc. Trident, lib. vi., c. xi., sec. 14.

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which hence prevailed was on the point of being destroyed by the objection again started to the title of the council itself.* The legate, however, again escaped from the difficulty, and thus one material point was settled, the authority of tradition, and its necessity as a supplement to scripture.

The attention of the fathers was next directed to the corruptions which had been admitted into the text of the Bible. When the bishops and theologians employed on this important work, had formed their opinions respecting its peculiar nature and difficulties, they brought a report to the congregation. The bishop of Bitonte took the lead in this discussion, and in a long, and not uneloquent address, showed that the corruptions of scripture might be traced to four sources. The first of these was the existence of a variety of translations, whereby the truth of the Divine Word seemed exposed to the charge of uncertainty. To rectify this evil, it was proposed to establish the authority of the Vulgate, which already enjoyed the sanction of the Church. The next evil to be remedied was that which arose from numerous typical errors, and which could only be removed by the careful correction of future editions of the Scriptures; a work requiring the exertion of authority on the part of the Pope, and of vigilance on that of the bishops. The third source of corruption mentioned was of somewhat a different kind. Too much liberty had been given in the interpretation of the Divine Word. Every one had assumed to himself the right of explaining the sense of scripture according to his own opinions. This evil could only be remedied by the institution of laws, which should render it obligatory on the interpreters of scripture, to take for their guides the opinions of the antient fathers of the Church, and to refrain from publishing their works till they had obtained the consent of their ecclesiastical superiors. Lastly; The printers of the several editions had commonly copied the errors of those preceding them, and, not content with this,

* Excepta est ea contentio consessu patrum æque admirantium tolerantiam legati, et importunitatem episcopi, qui nec propterea quievit; sed centies eamdem litem intentavit, semper gliscente vituperatione pervicaciæ damnatus. —Pallavicini, lib. vi., c. xii., sec. 1.

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had even appended the glosses of false and unlearned commentators. This evil, it was proposed to remedy by passing a law, which should inflict a fine on any printer, who should venture to issue a new edition of the Scriptures without permission from the bishops, and the insertion of the editor's name in the title-page.

On mention being made of imposing fines and other penalties on those who should offend against these rules, the bishop of the Asturias, and the archbishop of Panorma observed, that it was not lawful for the Church to impose fines on laymen, and that all it could properly do was to publish against offenders its solemn anathemas. The bishop of Bitonte replied, that many thought otherwise, and considered that the Church had universal power and right to do whatever seemed expedient for the government of the Christian world; and that it had been proved by experience, that punishments which affected the body, or the means of support, were far better calculated to accomplish the end proposed than those which only affected the mind.*

Cardinal Pachéco observed, respecting the translation of the Scriptures into the language of the country, that so many abuses had thence arisen, that popular versions ought to be forbidden. To this Cardinal Madruccio replied, that nothing was more likely to excite indignation, and especially in Germany, than any attempt to deprive the people of the means of reading the Bible, which, according to the Apostle, ought to be the subject of their continual meditation. Pachéco rejoined, that in Spain the reading of scripture had been forbidden by the consent of Paul II.; to which his opponent observed, that both Paul II. and every other Pope might be mistaken in passing laws of this kind, while it was quite impossible that Paul the Apostle should have taught what was wrong.†

* The plausible argument in proof of this was, "Propterea quod pœna inducta est tanquam frænum improborum: at vero ad probos coercendos, satis esse ipsam operis pravitatem, legi contrariam, quamvis impunitam; et malos ideo malos, quod corporis bona animi bonis anteferant."—Pallavicini, lib. vi., c. xii., sec. 4. Fleury, t. VIII., art. vii., liv. cxlii., n. 47.

† Fleury. Pallavicino says, that Madruccio added, "I myself learnt and still remember the Lord's Prayer and the Belief as translated into

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The Latin version in ordinary use afforded a fruitful theme for discussion. It was on this that the great body of teachers, in the Roman Church, had formed for ages their systems of theology. Never has a translation been regarded with more profound reverence, or appealed to as of higher authority. The principle, therefore, that translations of the Scriptures may be properly used, and that for every purpose of religious instruction, is fully established by the practice of the Roman Church itself. That the Vulgate was in the hands of few but the clergy, arose from the change of languages, and the accidental ignorance of most of the other orders. Had the people generally, especially those of Italy, been kept in a state of moderate intelligence, the notion of denying them the use of scripture, or that it was dangerous to allow them the right of studying divine mysteries in the language of inspiration, would probably never have existed. The character of the Vulgate was now to be examined with more of boldness and severity than was likely to have been employed under other circumstances. Louis of Catana advised the assembly to adopt the judgment of Cardinal Cajetan, who had employed eleven years of his life in examining the Scriptures word by word in the original. This, however, it is curious to learn, he could only do by having constantly at his side men of great erudition, who supplied his own want of knowledge in Greek and Hebrew, by giving him the literal signification of each separate word, as it occurred in the original text. On the information thus acquired, he wrote his commentaries; and his long experience, it is said, taught him to observe, that to understand only the Latin version is not to understand the Word of God, which is infallible, but that of the translator, who might be deceived; and that St. Jerome had well remarked, that to prophesy and write the books of scripture was the work of the Holy Spirit, but that to translate them required only

German, and they are commonly so learnt, to the great advantage of religion and profit of the German people. Would that professors of Greek and Hebrew had never been known among them; from what calamities would the Church have then been saved!"—Hist. Con. Trident., lib. vi., c. xii., sec. 5.

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human ability. Whence Cajetan was accustomed to exclaim, "Would that the doctors of past ages had always thus judged! The heresies of Luther would not then have found such an easy entrance into the world."

While it was acknowledged, in conformity with these sentiments, that any translator might fall into error, the possibility of securing the infallibility of a version was, notwithstanding, clearly insisted upon. The council was itself infallible, and it was therefore argued, that a translation examined and approved by this assembly ought to be regarded as authoritative. To anticipate the utterance of a still bolder sentiment, the speaker observed, that he dare not assert that the council might authenticate a translation without examination, for that even in the council held by the apostles, the decision had been preceded by long and careful consideration. But the revision of the Latin versions would occupy, it was calculated, full ten years, and could not, therefore, be undertaken at that time. He consequently advised that things should be left as they were, and had continued to exist for near fifteen hundred years.*

The acknowledgment which had been made respecting the fallibility of translations, not excepting even the Vulgate, obtained little favour with those who recollected in how much reverence it had been held by most of the doctors of their Church. It was necessary, said they, to support both the authenticity and the divine authority of the Vulgate, and that in all its parts, or advantage would be given to the Lutherans, and the Church would be troubled by heresies without number. This translation, it was further observed, had been read in schools and churches for ages past, and Rome, the mother and mistress of all others, had founded thereon a great part of its doctrines. To give the liberty of inquiring whether the translation was correct, either by comparing it with other versions, or by referring to the Greek or Hebrew text, would enable the new grammarians to create universal confusion, and to set them-

* Paolo Sarpi, t. I., liv. ii., p. 275. Fleury, t. VIII., art. vii., liv. cxlii., n. 57.

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selves up as arbiters and judges of the faith, whereby it would become necessary to endow them with the dignities of bishops and cardinals, instead of reserving those honours of the Church for true theologians and casuists. In the same manner, even the inquisitors would be prevented from pursuing their processes, unless acquainted with Greek and Hebrew; and heretics would escape by appealing to the original as proving doctrines not supported by the translation. Luther's version had given birth to many others which totally contradicted it; and Luther himself had often corrected his own work; so that the consequence would be, if such things were allowed, no one would know what Christianity meant. Other speakers remarked, in confirmation of these sentiments, that as God had given the Old Testament, in an authentic form, to the Jews, and the New Testament, pure and uncorrupted, to the Greeks, it could not, without impiety, be doubted, but that he had endowed his own well-beloved Church of Rome in a similar manner; and that therefore it was highly probable that the Holy Spirit itself, which had dictated the Scriptures, had also dictated the translation which the Church adopted. Others, again, observed, that though it might be difficult to prove that the translator had been endued with a prophetic or apostolic spirit for the simple purpose of executing such a work, he might be supposed to have one which nearly approached to this character; and that even if this were denied of the translator, it could not be of the council. Whence it would follow, that if the synod pronounced its favourable judgment on the Vulgate, and an anathema on all who should reject it, it ought to be regarded as free from error; and this, not because the writer had been inspired by the Holy Spirit, but because of the authority of the assembly which had received it as divine.

For the credit of the council, this monstrous sentiment was not allowed to pass uncontroverted. Isidore Clarius, an Italian divine, and an abbot of the Benedictine order, entered at large into an examination of the subject, by an appeal to history. Many Greek versions of the Old Testament existed, he observed, in the

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time of Origen, and were collated by that eminent father, and published in a single volume, arranged in six columns. The chief of these was the Septuagint, from which, as also from the Greek of the New Testament, various translations had been made into Latin. Of these, the one in most general use, is that called the Italic, pronounced the best by St. Augustine. That celebrated father, however, did not deny that the Greek text was infinitely preferable; while St. Jerome, who had a perfect knowledge of the original languages, finding many errors in this translation, had made another of the Old Testament, and corrected that of the New. The two versions were for some time regarded as rivals, and many persons continued to uphold that called the Italic, notwithstanding its incorrectness. At length that of Jerome was very generally received. St. Gregory, in his exposition of the book of Job, had referred, sometimes to one, and sometimes to the other; and, in the end, the two versions were examined, and brought into one, which received the name of the Vulgate. The Psalms were taken from the old translation; the custom of chanting them in the churches having rendered any alteration in their structure inconvenient. Of the Prophets, the minor were taken from St. Jerome; the greater, partly from one and partly from the other version. All this was done, said the good abbot, by the disposition of Providence; but the execution of the translation did not require or imply, as Jerome himself confessed, supernatural aid. This being the case, it would savour of absurdity to give to the version which he had made the authority of inspiration, seeing that he denied, with his own lips, that such a quality was to be looked for either in his or any other.

Drawing his conclusions from these facts, the learned Benedictine advised that, though no attempt ought to be made to place a translation on an equality with the original, the Vulgate should continue to be preferred to the rest: and that, when it had been submitted to a careful revision, it should receive the sanction of the council, and set aside all others, which might be allowed to fall gradually into disuse, while any attempt to in-

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troduce versions not yet known should be prohibited by law.

Andrew de Vega observed, that it was true that no interpreter could lay claim to inspiration, yet it did not follow therefrom that the Latin Vulgate was not authentic, since it was only to be understood thereby that it contained nothing contrary to faith and good manners, although some of the expressions employed might require correction, as failing in that exactness which could only be secured by numerous revisions. This translation, however, had been used in the Church for more than a thousand years. The antient councils had appealed to it in their deliberations; and it ought therefore to be now declared authentic in this sense, that it might be read without danger of error, a modified acknowledgment of its value, which would not prevent men of learning from examining the original texts, though it might stop the multiplication of new and unauthorized translations.*

The example of Cajetan was again appealed to when the fathers began to discuss the subject of scripture difficulties. "A new sense," said the cardinal, "ought not to be rejected because it is new, or because it does not agree in every respect with earlier interpretations. God has not subjected the sense of scripture to the judgment of the antients; nor would it be consistent with right reason to suppose that nothing is left for pious and learned men to do in the latter times of the Church. This opinion was strongly supported by a party in the council who insisted that it would be the height of spiritual tyranny to deny to believers the right of exercising the graces and the talents which God had given them. That in respect to most men, it was even proper to allure them to the study of scripture, by holding out the possibility of their making discoveries in the paths of divine truth. To pursue another course would be to drive them altogether from the cultivation of theology, and probably to deaden, in every respect, the love of piety. The Church, on the contrary, owed its perfection to the

* Fleury, t. VIII., art. vii., liv. cxlii., n. 57.—Paolo Sarpi, t. I., liv. ii., p. 280.

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variety of spiritual gifts with which its members were endowed, and that these had been freely and variously employed is manifest from the works of the fathers, among whom there is not only found much difference of opinion, but even opposition, though always combined with charity. Why, then, it was asked, should we deny to a later age, this privilege of employing learning and ability in the examination of scripture. The schoolmen who had refused to acknowledge any difference in the interpretation of the divine word, had, notwithstanding, opened the way to many, and often dangerous, diversities in religion itself; and it was therefore far better that the example of the antient Church should be followed, and that restraint should not be put upon men in their endeavours to discover the true sense of scripture.

It is interesting to discover that such sentiments as these could exist in the Roman Church at this period, and that there were members of her communion who did not fear to defend them in the midst of an assembly constituted like that of Trent. There were, however, far too many jealous advocates of mental and spiritual tyranny in the council to allow opinions of such a nature to pass without severe censure. If the license of inquiry was not restrained, said the champions of ecclesiastical despotism, disorders would never cease to multiply. In former times a better and humbler spirit reigned: there were few books; and liberty might therefore be indulged with less danger. The schoolmen, accordingly, when commentaries had been multiplied to excess, adopted another method in treating of divine things. Perceiving that men were fond of disputation, they had decided that it would be better to occupy them with the reasonings and opinions of Aristotle, than to allow any longer that loose and familiar mode of argument which had hitherto been employed in the illustration of scripture. The Franciscan, Richard du Mans, it was observed, had carried this opinion so far, that he did not scruple to declare that the schoolmen had so well defined the doctrines of faith, that it was no longer necessary to seek for them in scripture.

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Formerly the Bible was the only fountain of knowledge, and it was therefore read in the churches as essential to the instruction of the people: but now it was only read as a part of prayer, and need or ought not to be used as furnishing subjects for examination, which would be derogatory to the character of the Word of God. At least such a study of scripture ought to be forbidden to every one who had not been well instructed in scholastic theology; a measure, the necessity of which was amply proved, according to these reasoners, by the fact, that the Lutherans owed all their success to the aid of those who had dared to study the Bible without the aid of the schoolmen.* Some attempt was made by other members of the council to modify the extreme opinions of their more zealous associates. The fathers, it was said, had accommodated their interpretations to the character of the age in which they lived; and Cardinal de Cusa, who enjoyed a high reputation for both learning and piety, had observed, that scripture ought always to be explained according to the practice of the times present; and that it therefore should not create surprise if the intrepretations received by the Church were occasionally found to differ. When the Popes, in their decretals, employed certain passages of scripture in a particular sense, they did not prohibit every other application of the words; and the only rule established by St. Paul was, that prophecy, or the interpretation of scripture, should be according to the analogy of faith.

At the end of the discussion, six theologians were chosen to superintend the revision of the Vulgate; and, notwithstanding the exertions of the more liberal members of the council, the grammatical study of scripture was declared useless and dangerous. Pachéco, indeed,

* Paolo Sarpi, t. r., liv. ii., p. 282. Courayer observes, in a note on this passage, that the statement of his author would be scarcely credible were it not for the circumstance that in his own days a body of theologians existed who seemed to have entered into a conspiracy to deprive believers of the knowledge and study of scripture. Pallavicino mentions that several members of the council agreed, that there were seasons in which the circulation of the Scriptures in the language of the people must be highly pernicious; that if a translation were allowed, it should only be of certain parts of the Bible, for that the food which may be in itself most excellent, may prove to certain constitutions highly injurious.—Hist. Conc. Trident., lib. vi., c. xii., sec. 5.

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succeeded in persuading the assembly that the Scriptures had been already sufficiently explained, and that it was folly to expect that any thing better could be said than what had already been suggested. New interpretations would give birth to new heresies, and the license of modern minds must therefore be suppressed. Should any one arise whose intellect, by native energy, carried him beyond the common range of thought, it would be the duty of the Church to let him know that he must keep his notions to himself, and not trouble mankind by the publication of new conceits.

This was the tone of sentiment which generally prevailed in the council, and according to which it passed its decrees. The minds of men had been taught to feel that there was one rule of faith, and that that was, at least now, independent of scripture, however it might have been indebted to scripture for its original existence. A sort of principle was established like that which has sometimes sprung up from the pride of flourishing colonies. The Church had professedly founded its creed on scripture. It had not for many ages pretended to answer questions which involved the safety of souls without a reference to the oracles of God; but, as it grew in extent, and wealth, and power, it forgot the grounds of its strength and holiness; sought to establish claims to infallibility, and, just in proportion to its success in this endeavour, drew its disciples from the study of the Bible to the exercise of a servile and uninquiring submission to its own tyrannical dictation. The members of the Council of Trent were not, however, sufficiently united in sentiment to enable the assembly to settle matters of this kind without difficulty. Distinctions had to be made; and a cautious indulgence was allowed to the expression of sentiments, which, however inimical to the views of most of the Roman hierarchy, might become still more formidable if mingled with the irritated feelings of jealous and disappointed controversialists. The anathema, therefore, which it was proposed to publish against those who should interfere with the old translation, or interpret it in a sense different to the received exposition, was not

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extended to this offence, but was confined to the crime of abridging the canon or setting aside traditions.

The opening of the session, on the 8th of April, was attended with the customary ceremonies, and the sermon, preached by Augustin Aretin, exhibited in many respects an earnest and enlightened spirit, describing the nature of Christian faith as consisting not in a naked assent to the facts on which it is built, or to the mysteries which it sets forth, but in a lively trust in God's promises, in an assurance of his compassion to sinners and tender love of souls. Were the former kind of belief, said he, sufficient to justify, the devils would be happier than men, for their spiritual nature must give them the advantage in the certain and clear knowledge of divine things; but they want the power of love and hope, and therefore believe but to tremble. It was confidence in the goodness and mercy of Christ which brought the woman of Canaan, the Magdalen, the Centurian, to Jesus. These are the graces which have distinguished in all ages the truest and most devoted of his disciples; and by their efficacy, the humblest of private men, possessing only a very moderate degree of historical knowledge, are brought nearer to God than the most learned of theologians, who, skilled in eloquent discourse, feel not the force of divine love.*

* "Hæc igitur vera, perfecta, viva atque Christiana fides, habitus est in animo a Deo optimo maximo infusus, numquam otiosus, sed in revelata omnia inclinans, nusquam non splendens pietatis operibus, caritatis speique perpetuus comes, radix et summa sanctæ vitæ: qui peccata non imputat, sed destruit: justitiam confert, pacem conscientiis donat, Deo placere facit, præstat hereditatem, ut sit firma promissio; purificat corda, credentes servat ne pudefiant, invocationem gignit cum fiducia accipiendi petita, omnia possibilia reddit piis; parit confessionem justitiæ, veras gratiarum actiones efficit, promissiones apprehendit, in adoptionem filiorum Dei mortales coaptat, eosque Christo ac Christum vicissim illis conjungit et in unum ædificat corpus. Porro fides non legis doctrina aut eruditione, sed evangelii oritur salubri verbo. Est quidem legi sermo communis cum evangelio, de misericordia, benignitate et clementia Dei, cum terrena tum cœlestia bona cunctis mortalibus largiter donante. Sed lex justo suorumque decretorum magistros et professores, quibus divinæ bonitatis dona communicentur, quanto exactius perquirit, tanto minus assequitur. Quo fit, ut animus Pharisaicæ persuasionis nequitia deceptus, suæ prorsus oblitus injustitiæ, vel superbe quidem et arroganter falsam in se admiretur justitiam, atque ob id frustra in Dei benignitate nitatur; vel sibi male conscius fluctuet, æstuet, susque deque feratur, terroribus multis ut furiis agitetur, tandemque in desperationem et odium Dei redigatur. Hinc perversissimi Judæi, quo plures Christi amandi et recipiendi nanciscebantur occasiones, eo alieniores et

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By the decrees which were now published, all the books of the Old and New Testaments, as read in the Catholic Church, were declared to be of equal authority.

inimicitiores reddebantur. Hi enim cum in evolvendis prophetarum libris semper essent versati et quasi educati totque reliquorum vatum, et in primis ipsius Mosis, frequentes fuissent auditores, cum Christum innumera edentem miracula ob oculos haberent, qui oves Israelis a suo ovili longius aberrantes revocaturum et salvaturum se venisse palam prædicabat, suæ salutis plane immemores, legis observatione freti, ipsum respuebant et maxime aspernabantur; sic que Israël qui sectabatur legem justitiæ, ad justitiæ legem non pervenit, quia non ex fide, sed tanquam ex operibus legis, immo vero in lapidem offensionis, qui eis Christus fuit, allisi, contusi confractique sunt. Unde non immerito Paulus, etsi legem hoc titulo, quod iræ et mortis est ministra, ubique non est veritus insignire, nequaquam tamen eam hoc præstanti elogio, quod salutis ministra sit, exornare est ausus; quippe quæ cum deprehendat injustos divinoque furore dignos, justos non comperit clementiæ aptos. At evangelium, lætum illud nuntium, vas veri et pleni gaudii, vox sanctæ consolationis, instrumentum amatæ pacis, organum sperata salutis, non quærit quos reperire non potest, justos et mandatorum observatione fretos, vel qui commissorum condignam expleverint satisfactionem: sed scelestos, impios, sacrilegos, denique omni scelerum genere facinorosos. Atque iis gratis, si tamen eos male actæ vitæ pœnituerit: habet enim immensum illum mortis Christi thesaurum, unde divinæ justitiæ omnium hominum qui solvendo non sunt debita persolvat, his, inquam, gratis divinæ clementiæ favorem, peccatorum remissionem, justitiam, voluntatis renovationem, de prima loquor justitia, Patres, sanctitatem atque filiorum gloriam exhibit: crede, ait, confide, remittuntur tibi peccata tua, sanctus eris et sancta Deo, quæ hactenus non potuisti, post hac præstabis opera. Hoc evangelii verbo qui primum oppressus ac pene extinctus jacebat animus, erigitur in Deum, nec subducens pro se quanta debitorum mole prematur, quamve longe a justitia per legem exacta distet, in Dei misericordia nixus, per Spiritum Filii sui clamat, Abba, Pater: item, *Si filii et heredes, heredes quidem Dei, coheredes autem Christi.* Hinc gentiles, quibus omnia a Christo preclarissime gesta, inaudita et omnino incognita erant, qui fœdissimam et flagitiosissimam degebant vitam, ecce repente ex tenebris ad lucem, ex desperatione ad spem, a morte ad vitam revocati; vel potius tamquam machina quadam ab ipso ad superna impulsi, clarissimi toto orbe apparuerunt, Christum liberatorem suum receperunt, eique firmissime adhæserunt; sicque gentes quæ non sectabantur justitiam; apprehenderunt justitiam, justitiam autem quæ ex fide est. Ceterum, quoniam crucis triumpho evangelicæ promissiones innituntur, fit, ut quemadmodum deleto evangelio fides gigni nequaquam possit, ita etiam rejecta cruce, evangelium ut rejiciatur necesse est. Evangelii igitur, crucis fideique nexus manet indissolubilis; crucis enim intuitu per evangelium credimus; nam Christus devicto mundo, profligata morte, deletis peccatis, promissiones omnes obsignavit et confirmavit: ac propterea qui auditis evangelii promissionibus credunt et assentiuntur, ii statem Christo conjunguntur crucifixo atque crucis triumphum obeunt, id est mundo, carni, peccatis, satanæ mortui sunt; vicissimque illa eis crucifixa. Hæc enim est vera crucis subeundæ ratio, quo fit ut ipsi cum Christo in unum corpus et eumdem spiritum, singulari quadam comitante conjunctione, uniantur, eisque omnia, quæ Christi sunt, cum Christo communia fiant, justitia, salus, vita, meritum, satisfactio, regium denique; et ab eo velut a sole ipso in orbem animorum credentium radii effluant meriti et satisfactionis, ut crucem sustinentes mereantur, et non tam ipsi mereantur, quam in ipsis Christus. Quam ob rem eorum quilibet dicere merito possit: *Vivo ego, jam non ego, vivit vero in me Christus.* Oro ego et a cibis me abstineo, jam non

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Traditions, also, proceeding from the mouth of Jesus Christ or dictated by the Holy Spirit, and preserved in the Church from age to age, were acknowledged by the council as claiming a corresponding degree of reverence. Anathemas followed the decrees, and the Vulgate was declared authentic for the services of the Church, for reference in disputes, and for all the purposes of theological discussion. In another section of the same decree it was determined that a new and very exact edition of this version should be forthwith prepared;*

ego, orat vero et a cibis abstinet in me Christus. Neque amplius divinæ justitiæ jus ullum vindictæ est in eos, ut de illis æterni supplicii pœnas sumat. O novum gloriæ genus, O inauditam sæculis triumphi rationem per crucem! O felicem humani generis conditionem, quæ solo crucis intuitu in tam altum dignitatis fastigium est evecta, ut divinus et nominetur et fiat homo.—Le Plat., t. I., pp. 64–66.

* "The letter," says Mr. Mendham, in his valuable volume, "of the 24th, which is peculiar to the third collection, and is written by the Cardinal della Croce, the first president still being indisposed, is addressed to a new correspondent, Bernadino Maffeo. The legate expresses his concern, that the decrees of the last session had not given satisfaction, either to the deputies or the sacred college; and desires to know where the blame attaches, as, in what concerns scripture and traditions, they had gone through fire and water and endured contradiction, which would have done honour to Wittemburg, to attain what they did. It was, it seems, desired that a *corrected* Bible should have been promised: but this proposal implied that 'our Bible, that is, the Bible of the Roman Church, was incorrect.' This was too palpable an error to be hazarded in these times of calumny for the Church; besides that the course taken by the legates still left free, and without danger to his Holiness, the correction of the Bible, Latin, Greek and Hebrew. 'We will, therefore,' they continue, 'expect from you a fine Bible, corrected and amended for the press; and if here the labours of the many able men among us can give any assistance, you shall be welcome to it. And thus those who admire, as you do, that the common edition should be pronounced authentic, without any mention of correcting it, finding it corrected, will feel themselves under perpetual obligation to his Holiness; and the council will not have given an opinion against the Scripture of our Church, but, on the contrary, have authenticated and approved it, a thing of no small importance.' The writer proceeds to vindicate the edition from the charge of incorrectness, because one book or another may be incorrect, the edition being a species, and the books individuals; not to say, that in the opinion of many, the only errors are those of the press; and although delicate ears may be offended with some of the expressions in the Vulgate, its readings are supported by the most antient copies of the originals.

The next letter to the usual correspondent, the most reverend Farnese, of the 26th of April, pursues the same subject, and combats the same objection. This young cardinal and critic is reported as wishing to know, why, in receiving the Vulgate as authentic, no mention was made of correcting it: since it is manifest that there are errors in it which can ill be attributed to the press. The answer is, "that after long disputation upon the subject, many of the learned of the different nations held that the vulgar edition was that of St. Jerome. Others agreed, unanimously, that the edition used in the Roman Church was the most secure, as never having been accused of heresy,

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that for the future, no one should be allowed to interpret scripture in a sense contrary to that given by the Church, and established by the unanimous consent of the fathers. This prohibition was to extend even to those explications which students might make for their own private use, and without any intention of ever communicating them to others. No book, again, was to be published, sold, or received which had not been first examined and inscribed by the proper authorities. Offences against this law were to be punished by excommunication and heavy fines. The triumph, therefore, of intolerance was complete, so far as the council might determine the boundaries of religious inquiry. But short-sighted must have been that wisdom which could not discover in the busy spirit of the age ample proofs of the insignificance of such decrees. The very circumstances in which the Roman Church was now placed rendered laws of this kind as little applicable to its own necessities as they were injurious to the general interests of learning, piety,

although it might appear to vary in some places from the Hebrew and Greek text; and however humble, barbaric or solecistic its style might be, the originals were corrupted by the Hebrews and heretics; and therefore no course was so secure as to rest upon that Church, which, besides being the head of Christendom, had even, by the special privilege and favour of God, been preserved without spot of heresy, and with a perpetual and uninterrupted succession of pontiffs. Although the incorrections do not touch matters of faith, the synod has not thought proper to adopt the opinion of the deputies, nor to confess, by a public decree, that the edition was *formally* corrupt, but in this dilemma judged it more expedient to correct the books *tacitly*, and to issue them with the authority of their Lord, and with the approbation of the synod, than to rectify an error at a time when there would be no remedy. It was therefore concluded, at the last general congregation, that his Holiness should be written to, in the name of the synod, and is now done, to correct with all expedition the last edition, and then the Greek and Hebrew Bibles; and, the same being done here, that the joint labours should produce, with the authority of the Pope and council, a correct Bible, which should be published for the perpetual conservation of the faith. The legates give seven reasons for the course which they had taken, among which the most observable are; *that* which represents it as the declaration of their adversaries, that they have separated from the Roman Church, not only on account of its bad manners, but likewise its false doctrine, and it would be a confirmation of their statement, if the sacred Scriptures, which for centuries she has published, proclaimed and interpreted, should be acknowledged to be erroneous; nor would it avail to say, that the errors did not affect faith, since from one error might be deduced an infinity; and *that* the last, which proposes, that in case the errors should be judged important, an amended edition might be published without scandal or infamy, every error being ascribable either to antient or modern transcribers."—Memoirs chiefly derived from manuscripts and unpublished records, pp. 64–67.

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and general intelligence. It required, in its present state, the best and most energetic defence that could be rendered by activity of mind and a common sympathy. But the human intellect cannot put forth its strength to the utmost when made sensible that it works in fetters. And this is one of the circumstances most ruinous to every kind of arbitrary power. It can never enjoy to the full the natural vigour which its champions may possess. Its own dark nature will necessarily cast a shadow over the brightest ornaments of genius. The weight of its evil conscience, the baseness and mingled folly of its decrees, will press upon the hearts that are disposed to swell with the most generous devotion to its interests. It is always, therefore, to the great injury of any cause like that now advocated in the Council of Trent to pass injunctions which openly and obviously affect the liberty of thought and discussion. In the present case, moreover, the law could serve for little else than to provoke further contempt on the part of adversaries, while it chilled and discouraged, and filled with suspicion, those who were obliged to confess its authority.

At the opening of this session, Francis of Toledo, the Emperor's envoy and orator, appeared in the assembly, ostensibly to supply the place of Mendoza, who was sick at Venice, but in reality to employ his art in convincing the fathers that the Emperor and the Pope were agreed on the policy to be pursued against the reformers. This union indeed was rendered more necessary than ever by the decrees about to be sent forth into the world. The Protestants could not fail to regard them as putting an end for ever to the hope of conciliation. It was impossible to behold such proceedings without an equal feeling of anger and dismay; and while the proofs of this state of things were becoming every day more numerous, Charles knew that it was no longer open to him to choose at leisure the course to be adopted. But however necessary it might be to act with more decision than hitherto, it was equally necessary to proceed with caution. The Protestants possessed resources not to be despised even by a powerful monarch,

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and it would evidently have furthered the success of his movements, could the council have been persuaded to refrain, for a time, from measures which might urge them into immediate action. But the efforts of the orator were of little avail; neither the fathers at Trent, nor the Pope's advisers at Rome, could be induced to depart from the line of conduct which was deemed essential to the support of the Church. No slight surprise was expressed, that the Emperor should have attempted to influence the disposition of the council, or venture to use his influence in an endeavour to retard decrees which the state of the Church so evidently demanded.

While Charles V. felt increasing anxiety respecting the movements of the council, the Pope saw plainly that it would be impossible to make it the organ of his plans, unless it received some accession of strength and dignity. He therefore sent other cardinals and bishops to Trent, and that for the plain purpose of counterbalancing the influence of the Emperor's minister, and the power of his prelates. The necessity of this was rendered still more evident, when Toledo openly declared that he had received orders from his master, instructing him to desire that the council might refrain from any discussion of doctrine, and confine itself to the subject of reformation. This interference could not be allowed, and the assembly, invigorated by the determination of the Pope and the legates, pursued its original plans.

"The council," said the Pontiff, in his instructions to his ministers at Trent, "ought to resolve on nothing without the consent of the Pope." Alarmed by this indication of the sentiments which prevailed in the court of the Vatican, the legates determined to propose such questions for discussion as might be least likely to excite agitation, and, when this could not be wholly avoided, to confine themselves to subjects as remote as possible from those which affected the interests of the Church.

In conformity with this plan of proceeding, the fathers were allowed to spend no small portion of time and labour in determining the respective claims of the bishops and the religious orders. For many ages the

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latter had exercised their functions as if amenable to no other authority than that of the Pope himself, or that of their respective chiefs. Numerous disorders had thence arisen; and for these no cure could be proposed which did not require, in the first place, the subjection of the monks to proper espiscopal jurisdiction. The prelates spoke strongly on the question; and, naturally zealous for the honour of their class, insisted that the privileges hitherto enjoyed by the orders should be altogether annulled. On the other hand, the legates strenuously defended the monks; but they were answered by the bishop of Fièsole, who remarked that the bishops had a work to perform which they could not leave in the hands of men who only sought their own gain and pleasure. "I see," said he, "that preaching is every where left to the regulars. Is not this, my fathers, to let the wolf into the fold? I conjure you, in the name of God, and by all that is holy, not to let these abuses continue to exist."

But the monks had their representatives among the prelates; and a Dominican immediately answered, that the Pope being bishop of all Christendom, those whom he sent forth to preach had as good authority for the exercise of their functions as the clergy who received their license from a diocesan; that the prelates ought not to complain of the custom alluded to, for it had arisen not from a spirit of unjust aggression on the part of the regulars, but from the negligence of the bishops themselves; that if even now they would preach and instruct the people, instead of leaving them to others, the monks would gladly remain in their cells, and giving themselves up to a life of mortification and penitence, would endeavour by their supplications to turn away the wrath of God. "It is our own idleness only," he continued, "not to speak of our ignorance, that has obliged the Pope to grant privileges to the monks. It is they who have sustained the burden of our ministry. They perform the labour, while we enjoy the honours and revenues of our bishoprics."*

* Pallavicini Hist. Conc. Trident., lib. vii., c. iv., sec. 4. Fleury, t. VIII., art. vii., liv. cxlii., n. 99.

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In a congregation held soon after, a decree was proposed, which directed that the monks should not, in future, be allowed to preach except in the churches belonging to their respective orders, without the especial permission of their generals and the bishops; and that they were not, even in their own churches, to assume the office of preachers till properly licensed by their general, and approved by the diocesan. When the Cardinal del Monte called upon Pachéco to deliver his opinion, he replied, that one of the main objects sought for in the reformation of which the council had spoken, was to oblige the bishops to reside in their dioceses; to teach their people, and perform whatever other duties belonged to their office; that if they believed there was no divine law compelling them to this, they were greatly in error; and that the council ought to use its endeavours to restore the antient canons, which ordered negligent and unworthy bishops to be deprived of their revenues, and even to be deposed.*

The Cardinal del Monte strove to cut short this debate by proposing to collect the votes of the fathers, without waiting for the statement of their opinions. Cardinal Pachéco strongly objected to such a proceeding; and observed, that it was monstrous to see bishops, who had come from distant provinces, and at great expense, denied the liberty of expressing their sentiments on matters of the highest consequence to the Church.† They had hitherto, he added, been confined to particular congregations, and were shut up as if in prison; "but they will rouse themselves by and by, and demand why they are treated with this injustice, and cheated of their fair and lawful authority. Shall we continue to allow the monks to preach in our dioceses without our permission, without their even producing a license from their superiors? It is acknowledged that bishops and curates have shamefully neglected the preaching of

* Rainaldi Annales Eccles., t. XIV., sec. lxiii., p. 151.

† The legates of the Pope having taken their seats as presidents, could not, canonically, give their opinion. It was enough that they proposed the question which was to be examined. After that every bishop had a right to deliver his sentiments without constraint. To pursue any other course was to influence and intimidate the mind, and to propose the consideration of a question which had been already decided.—Lettres et Memoires de Vargas, par Michel le Vassor, p. 16.

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God's Word to the people.* Is the decree calculated to cure this evil? I exhort them, my brethren the bishops, in the name of Jesus Christ, whose vicars they are, to re-establish their antient authority." Then, turning towards the legates, he reminded them that they were formerly but simple bishops; that they still possessed that title; and that they would greatly dishonour themselves if they did not employ their influence to support the rights and dignity of the order.

Pachéco's address was listened to with extreme impatience by the legates and their supporters. The same feeling had been already manifested during the speech of the Bishop of Fièsole; and Del Monte, though with necessary caution, expressed in both cases the disgust which sentiments so bold and uncompromising had inspired. In his letters to Rome, he intimated the necessity of measures being taken for the removal of those prelates who seemed resolved on opposing the measures to which the more tractable of the fathers were ready to give assent. Pachéco had been asked whether he really believed that the bishops were vicars of Jesus Christ; and had replied that he did, and should continue to do so till he was proved to be wrong.† This was to strike at the foundation of the Pope's own supremacy; and the whole of the party which supported such sentiments could not be otherwise than obnoxious to the resentment of the Roman court. But the times would not allow of that exercise of arbitrary power which might have afforded the readiest remedy to this growing evil. The bishops complained of were to be managed rather than coerced, and to be silenced by art rather than by open threats.‡

* Pachéco illustrated this by stating, that when he went to the bishopric of Pampeluna, he heard that the face of a bishop had not been seen there for eighty years, one or the other of the cardinals having always enjoyed that see. —Pallavicini Hist. Conc. Trident., lib. vii., c. iv., sec. 10.

† Some attempt was made to modify this opinion. The bishops, it was said, might be regarded as vicars of Christ, in respect to their right of absolving, and performing other functions; but they could not be properly called vicars of Christ in the same sense in which the Pope was: "Non tamen vicarios generales, qualis est solus Romanus Pontifex: illos enim in partem solicitudinis advocari."—Ibid., sec. 14.

‡ Fleury, t. VIII., art. viii., liv. cxlii., n. 105. Pallavicino says, "Ut hac in re cum legatorum, tum pontificis moderatio palam fiat, liber hic rescripta ad

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The decree respecting the bishops was again discussed on the 21st of May. Pachéco, nothing daunted by the reproofs he had received, insisted that especial mention ought to be made of archbishops and primates, otherwise they might endeavour to excuse themselves on some plea of exemption from the ordinary rule. He also contended that the clause which had given the prelates permission to read their discourses should be omitted; for that if the bishops were to adopt the custom of reading their sermons, the people would be led to form a mean idea of their capacity. The arguments advanced in support of this opinion were considered sufficiently cogent to obtain general approbation, and the clause referred to was removed.* It was not, however, so readily determined that the monks should be forbidden to preach without a direct permission from the diocesan. "It is highly proper," said the Dominican prelate, who had before espoused the cause of the friars, "that the bishops should be re-established in the enjoyment of their primitive honours. But what were those honours? Did they not consist in going forth to preach the gospel, clad in sackcloth, and plodding their way, supported only by a staff, instead of being carried, as they now are, in luxurious litters, growing fat in soft and shameful idleness?" This address provoked some severe rejoinders; but it was at length agreed that the monks should be allowed to preach in their own churches without the permission of the bishop, which should only be required when they entered some place as strangers.

After having determined to promote the study of theology by establishing diocesan schools, and to secure, as far as practicable, the residence of the bishops and other dignitaries, the council began its examination of the doctrines of Luther. To this it was led at the

eos Pauli sensa referre. "De Fesulani petulantia, vestræ sententia Pontifici comprobatur, in præsentia satius esse ad alia remedia non progredi, sed hominem verbis tantummodo castigandum, tùm ob allatas à nobis rationes, tùm ne loquendi libertas adimi patribus censeatur."—Lib. VII., c. iv., sec. 13. Paolo Sarpi says, that the legates heard the bishop of Fiesole with affected moderation.—T. I., liv. ii., p. 300.

* Fleury.

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earnest desire of the legates. The Pope regarded with suspicion every step that was taken in the way of practical reform. He knew how easily the rapid tide of debate might dash to pieces some bulwark of the system now necessary to his safety. Had he been protected by principles far more defensible than those on which he relied, such apprehensions would have been equally natural and pardonable. The discussions of an assembly like that of Trent are dangerous to every thing but truth, justice and holiness in their purest forms.

No sooner, therefore, had it been discovered that several members of the assembly were resolved upon pressing the subject of reform to its proper and legitimate end, than the legates insisted upon the necessity of introducing some topic connected with the spread of heresy. To this, both the prelates who had distinguished themselves in the late discussions, and the Spanish ambassador, offered decided opposition. But their remonstrances were in vain. The legates insisted that they were obliged to follow the orders of the Pope; and after promising to seek further information from Germany before determining the matter, exhibited the propositions which had been drawn from the writings of the reformers on the subject of original sin.*

Much learning and ingenuity were displayed by several of the theologians who took part in the discussion. It was fruitful in topics of interest; but better calculated to employ the skill of those who had been educated in the study of scholastic theology, than to further the professed design of the council. Most of the bishops and other influential members of the assembly were confessedly uninformed in subjects of this

* Paolo Sarpi, t. I., liv. ii., p. 307.—"The fact is incontestible," observes Le Vassor, "that the manner in which things were conducted at Trent under Paul III. was altogether contrary to the practice of the antient councils." It was destructive of liberty, says Vargas, and ruinous to the authority of such assemblies. Under pretext of conducting its affairs, the legates rendered themselves masters of the assembly. Questions were proposed, examined and decided only according to their pleasure; and the orders which they continually received from Rome. This was so manifest, that the pensionary prelates could not deny the fact; they mourned over their condition, when speaking with good men.—Lettres et Memoires de Vargas, p. 14.

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nature. Of those who had any learning, properly so called, the greater number were only distinguished by their knowledge of the canon law. The rest knew little more than what pertained to the office of a courtier. It was to the theologians, therefore, who attended the council simply in that capacity, that the duty pertained of representing their Church, and supporting its views, in debates of this nature.

The general subject having been discussed in congregations held for the purpose, another was summoned on the 16th of June, in which the result of these discussions was set forth in the form of decrees. That which treated of original sin was divided into five parts, each with its appended anathema. Of these, four regarded the supposed errors of Zuingle, while the fifth referred to those of Luther. It was only on the second article that any important difference of opinion prevailed. In this it was said that the sin of Adam had been transmitted to the whole of the human race. So plain a doctrine of scripture could not, it might have been supposed, have created any dissention among the teachers of Christian theology. But the disciples of Loyola, Lainez and Salmeron, and the Cordeliers, aided by Cardinal Pachéco, insisted that an exception should be made in favour of the Virgin Mary. The Dominicans, on the contrary, argued with equal warmth against the notion thus fondly espoused. In the end, the legates, to avoid offending either party, observed, that it was not the intention of the council to decide the question at present. The disputants remained contented with the partial victory which each seemed to have secured, and patiently submitted to the admonition that they ought to abide by the constitutions of Sixtus IV., and speak no more of a subject so difficult and mysterious.*

On the following day the decree was published which anathematized, first, those who acknowledged not that Adam, by his transgression, had fallen from holiness, and become subject to the wrath of God, to the power

* Fleury, t. VIII., art. vii., lib. cxlii., n. 119. Rainaldi Annal. Eccles., t. XIV., p. 156.

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of sin and death: secondly, those who denied the universal consequences of Adam's fall, and its effect upon the soul, as well as the body. Thirdly, those who supposed that any one may be set free from sin thus derived by other means than the blood of Christ. In the fourth place, they are anathematized who deny the necessity of baptism to new-born infants: and, lastly, those who believe not that original sin is taken away by baptism, or affirm that it is only cancelled thereby.*

Provision having been made in this congregation to secure those important helps to reform, the education and better discipline of the clergy, the assembly considered itself at liberty to pursue the examination of articles of faith. On the next meeting, therefore, of the council, the doctrine of justification was proposed as the subject of discussion. The errors imputed to the Protestants having been reduced to six heads, the questions thence arising were referred to the following congregation, when forty-five theologians assembled with the prelates to examine the faith of the Protestants in the first and distinguishing principle of evangelical truth.

It was found, at the very beginning of the discussion, that but few of the divines assembled on the occasion were sufficiently acquainted with the subject to free themselves, and the meeting, from considerable embarrassment. The doctrine of justification had not been rendered prominent in Roman Catholic theology by the discussions of the schools. This may be accounted for by reference to the nature of the subject. Unlike the questions which belong to every examination of what constitutes the freedom of the human will, those which pertain to the doctrine of justification can only be answered by an appeal to scripture. This was not what the schoolmen loved or practised. The most admired and ingenious line of argument, not founded on the gospel, has not sufficient strength to bear the weight of even a single text. To the pride of reasoning this is intolerable. It cannot endure to see it demonstrated, that all its toil is vain; and that the worth of its contrivances is wholly imaginary. Doctrines, therefore, which

* Fleury. Paolo Sarpi, t. I., lib. ii., p. 327.

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are simply and purely evangelical, offer little to tempt the exercise of subtle intellects. This is the case, whatever be the moral character of the mind; but when it is under the influence of sincere and ardent piety, as were doubtless those of many of the schoolmen, it is still less inclined to meddle with matters embalmed in the light of the Holy Spirit.*

Twenty-five propositions, according to some, according to others, twenty-three,† were offered to the council for its careful consideration, before it should determine what ought to be received as the true doctrine of justification. They were mainly drawn from the works of Luther and Zuingle, and began with the fundamental principle of their system, that faith alone, to the exclusion of works, suffices for salvation, and alone justifies. In another of the articles it was stated, that those who, without the Holy Spirit, do even what seems good, yet sin, for their actions proceed from an impure heart; and if there be no faith, the observance of God's commandments does but produce iniquity. Again, not any previous disposition is necessary to justification; for faith justifies, not because it disposes a man to seek holiness, but because it is the means and instrument by which he seizes upon, and receives the promise and the grace of God. The doctrine of predisposition destroys that of faith, and deprives the conscience of its best consolation. Faith only is necessary. Other things are neither commanded nor forbidden; and there is no other sin but disbelief. He who has faith is free from the precepts of the law, and has no need of works to obtain salvation; for faith gives all things, and fulfils all the commandments. No action of a believer can be so wicked as to accuse or condemn him. No baptized person can lose salvation by any other sin than that of disbelief; and

* Rainaldus himself remarks, that while the antient schoolmen had treated very largely concerning the questions connected with the subject of original sin, they had discoursed much more sparingly of justification.—T. XIV., sec. CXV., p. 178.

† Paolo Sarpi says the former, Pallavicino the latter; t. I., liv. ii, p. 342. Adeoque non illi duntaxat viginti-quinque ex uno Luthero desumpti, quos Suavis recenset; sed ad primum statum decem; novem ad secundum; quatuor ad tertium decerpti, non a Lutheranis modò, sed à Pelagianis, à Zuinglianis, et ab aliis hæreticis.—Pal. lib. VIII., c. iv., sec. 5.

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no other than this can separate from the grace of God. Faith and works are contrary in themselves, and the one cannot be taught without setting aside the other.

Several of the succeeding articles bore immediately on the same point. It was also further said, that, according to the Lutherans, grace and justice are only the will of God. That our righteousness is but the righteousness of Jesus Christ; that the righteous have no inherent quality of that kind; and that their sins are not effaced, but only remitted, or not imputed. Lastly; all the just are supposed to be admitted to the same degree of glory; and are to be as great in righteousness as the Mother of God, and as holy as she is; while their works having no merit, they are indebted for the whole of these blessings to the mere mercy of the Lord.

Such was the summary given of the more important principles, deducible, according to the theologians of Trent, from the writings of the reformers. The field of discussion was wide, and difficult to be traced; nor were the circumstances under which the task was begun favourable to the discovery of truth, or to the common cause of charity. It requires an exercise of the most perfect candour for persons united among themselves in the profession of the same doctrine to discuss fairly and fully the merits of an opposite system. This is always the case; but the difficulty is greatly increased when the numerous considerations of party interest are brought into action, and the decision of the question is likely to affect materially the future position of the disputants. It was next to impossible that the views of the reformers should be represented in their proper light and placed honestly on the true grounds of defence, where there was not a single representative of the party. It is not enough that there are some upright and liberal men in an assembly appointed to try adverse opinions. However honest they may be, the influence of habit, and old associations, if not prejudice, will weigh heavily upon their judgment. For this there is generally a corrective in meetings where each party has its fair number of supporters; but in the Council of Trent, while pride and bigotry sat flushed with the hope of victory, the

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more virtuous minds, after a brief struggle in the cause of justice, shrunk from the conflict, doubting in themselves whether, in endeavouring to obtain a hearing, they had not violated some claim of duty and loyalty to their Church.

Among those who took the most conspicuous part in the debate, were Ambrose Catharin, the Dominican; Andrew de Vega, a Spanish Franciscan; and Jerome Seripand, general of the Augustines,* who are said to have exhibited a zeal which might partly be traced to their desire to prove that they were not infected, like many others of their order, with the errors of Luther. The love of scholastic distinctions was shown at the beginning of the debate. To arrive at a right notion of the subject, it was deemed necessary to describe works under three different heads. First, there were the works which precede grace; secondly, those which are performed at the moment when grace is first infused; and thirdly, those which follow this gift of the divine principle.

The nature of justifying faith, on the other hand, was described by some as consisting in simple belief: by others it was confounded with its accompanying graces, as that of charity; while the rest argued, in closer agreement with the gospel, that it was a trust in God which by its proper vital efficacy brought forth the fruits of love. Dominic Soto insisted that the only proper distinctions of faith were those which represented it, first as the assurance, or truth, of one who promises; and secondly, as the consent of him who hears, and believes; the former belonging to God, and the latter to man. To speak of faith under any other terms was, according to Soto, not only erroneous but heretical, and highly injurious to the Church in its controversy with the Lutherans. It had been said by the leader of that sect, that the faith which justifies is a confidence, and assurance that our sins are pardoned, and that we are reconciled in Christ. Such a confidence, argued Soto,

* Paolo Sarpi, t. I., liv. ii. Pallavicini Hist. Con. Trident. Fleury, t. VIII., art. vii.

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is pride and rashness, and a proof of sin, rather than of grace.

This opinion was not allowed to pass uncontradicted. Catharin remarked, that although justification was not the effect of such a confidence, it was very consistent with scripture doctrine that the justified should believe themselves in a state of grace. Andrew de Vega added, that it was not presumptuous, in certain cases, for believers to regard their souls as emancipated from sin; but that their confidence could be only a species of conjectural assurance.

The disputes on these points were carried to a considerable extent. It was to the credit of the council that such was the case. It was even to the advantage of religion generally. The votes of the assembly were not the only things to be considered. Many of the theologians engaged in the several congregations enjoyed no slight degree of personal influence in their respective provinces; and the quickening of their minds to the observation of scriptural truth, though it might not render them sufficiently powerful to determine the votes of the council, might greatly improve them as teachers of theology in less conspicuous spheres; and, though leaving them still in communion with the Roman Church, would incline them strongly to speak more plainly and spiritually of many important principles in the evangelical system.

It was at length decided, that faith justifies, and that this justifying faith is the consent of the mind to whatever God has revealed, or the Church propounded as necessary to salvation. Sometimes it is accompanied by charity; at others not; and it is, therefore, to be distinguished as of two kinds, the one being that commonly described as a dead, solitary, inactive faith, and the other known as a lively, efficacious, operative faith. Some endeavoured to shake this decision, by limiting the justifying grace to the latter kind of belief, and thereby proving that it necessarily comprehended the preparations of the will, and the accomplishment of the law; in other words, that it is animated by love.

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But, to this it was objected that St. Paul only says that it worketh by love; and some persisted in ascribing justification to both kinds of faith, making this distinction, that a lively faith justifies completely, while a mere historical belief is but the beginning of justification. St. Paul was quoted as giving authority to this distinction; and the debate would have been perpetually renewed had not the disputants generally agreed on this, that while the proposition, "faith alone justifies," may be taken in various senses, it deserves not, in any one of them, the attention of reasonable men.

On the article respecting the sinful nature of every kind of works, before grace, Luther was represented as having fallen into grievous error, for there are many actions, it was contended, purely indifferent, and there are others which, though not agreeable to God, are nevertheless morally good. Such are the virtuous acts of infidels, and of those Christians who are still in a state of sin. But Catharin would not allow an argument which involved not only error but contradictions, to pass unnoticed. Man, he said, could perform nothing really good, without the especial aid of God. The works of infidels, and those of professed believers, not yet spiritually converted, however good and excellent, and even heroic, in appearance, are truly sins. Though fair to the eye, they cannot sustain the strict examination which truth and holiness demand. And this, he contended, was the doctrine of Thomas Aquinas himself, who taught that, in order to do what is really good, every thing pertaining to it must be good; whereas, to render a work evil, there is wanted but the least defection, in any one of its circumstances, from the rule of right. It was an acknowledged principle, he added, and one supported by St. Augustine, that, without preventing grace, man could do nothing acceptable to God. What then was the plain inference, but that before grace was given no work could be morally good.*

This scriptural sentiment was further supported by reference to the writings of St. Ambrose, and many other fathers. Catharin did not even scruple to say

* Paolo Sarpi, t. I., liv. ii. Pallavicini Hist. Conc. Trident.

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that the schoolmen contradicted each other on this subject. That it was better, therefore, to follow the earlier writers, and, better than all, to lay the foundation of faith in the Scriptures themselves. "I was once," he said, "of a contrary opinion; but the study of the Bible, and of the fathers, has convinced me of my error."

It was not probable that a remark like this would pass unassailed. Soto replied, that it was little short of heresy, for if it were said, that man had not the power of doing well, what was this but to deny, with the Lutherans, the existence of free-will? He then made some sensible distinctions respecting the substance of a work, and its end, or object. The powers of nature, he affirmed, were sufficient to enable a man to observe all the precepts of the law in regard to the former, and thereby avoid sin, however they might fail in directing him to a faultless end. Thus there are three kinds of works. Under the first class are those which transgress the law, and, therefore, produce sin. The second class comprehends such as fulfil the law with charity, and are, therefore, meritorious in the sight of God; and in the third rank, are those which, though morally good, and, therefore, free from sin, are not sufficiently excellent in themselves to obtain the favour of God.

When the praise thus awarded to human nature seemed likely to embarrass every doctrine of the gospel with difficulties, Soto modified his argument by drawing a distinction between the merit of particular actions, and the general state of the persons performing them. Sins might be guarded against when considered separately, but not in the mass; and, to illustrate his meaning, he compared a man striving against sin to one who held a vessel pierced in three places. He might stop the liquid which it contained from gushing out at two of the places, but it must still escape at the third.

Much, however, as Soto strove to exalt the merit of good works, he would not venture to assert that they could procure justification. Augustine, Thomas Aquinas, and a host of other writers to whose authority he bowed, were directly opposed to such a doctrine. He

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acknowledged that they ascribed the beginning of salvation to the calling of God. But not willing to relinquish so large a portion of his argument, as seemed to be legitimately cut off by this confession, he insisted, that works might be regarded as leading remotely to justification. This desire to establish the merit of works was carried still further by Andrew de Vega, and the Franciscans. They had been taught by Duns Scotus that there is a grace of congruity, a portion, that is, of divine help and favour, which properly attaches itself to works done with a good intention, and according to the best of a man's ability. It is attributing injustice to God, they said, to suppose that he makes no difference between a man who lives wisely and virtuously according to the light which he enjoys, and another whose conduct is marked by every species of wickedness.

It need scarcely be said, that, in reasoning of this kind, the main question is wholly set aside. The inquiry is, not whether one set of actions, as actions, and independent of principles, are better than another; but whether they are sufficiently pure to satisfy and delight a God who knows the secrets of the heart. Were his thoughts like our thoughts, the things which please us must please him. But our gratification is owing, for the most part, to an imperfect view of the objects which solicit admiration. If a thing be fit for its immediate purpose we are satisfied; we rarely inquire by what principle it is set in motion; with what spirit it is animated. This can never be the case with a being perfect in moral perception. Take the action, however, of a wicked man which leads to immediate good. Set aside the man himself; his motives, his dispositions, his deep-rooted corruption; look only at the action itself, and its immediate result, and ask whether, thus considered, it is not worthier of God's approbation, than one which can only produce evil, and the answer is necessarily in the affirmative. Take a thousand such actions; the great mass, in short, which compose a man's life, let them be all of this nature, and the same answer must be given. But we are still concerned with actions only. As soon as we begin to modify the praise or blame

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attached to them, by considering their origin, or the dispositions of the agent, a new subject of inquiry presents itself; and if they are said to be good, because the principles whence they sprung are good, we are authorized by scripture, either to deny the assertion, or refer the pure and exalted motive to the working of heavenly grace. But this leaves man in the same fallen and miserable state, so far as his own independent claims to favour are concerned, whatever number of deeds he may have performed fair in themselves, and acceptable in the eyes of his fellow men. Infinitely better it is to have been the author of good than of evil, though we have no other reward than the feeling that we have not been channels for the flowing of iniquity. But God judges not by appearances; nor does he love that which is imperfect, and intimately blended with corruption. He can admire that only which his own spirit has wrought in us. He can justify only according to the infinite merits of his Son.

When the Franciscans pursued their argument, by observing that it would cast men into despair, to teach any other doctrine than that of merit, as attached to works, they must have forgotten, in their charitable zeal, the very condition of human nature. To assert that the doctrine of justification, as depending upon works, is better calculated than that of justification by faith, to encourage the trembling soul to seek God, and hope in his mercy, is the same as to say that an unfortunate bankrupt, who has nothing left him, is more likely to be benefited by the creditor who offers to take part of his debt, than by him who, mercifully considering his helplessness and sorrows, freely forgives him all.

The Dominicans boldly contended against every attempt to defend what was called "grace of congruity." It ought, they said, to be no longer mentioned in the Church. The Council of Orange had declared that the grace of God is preceded by no human merit, but operates, from the first, alone and independently. In the antient times of the Church no other doctrine had been heard of; grace of congruity was not mentioned in

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the controversy with Pelagius; and such an expression would be looked for in vain in any part of scripture.

Some of the collateral parts of the subject were then considered; and Luther was severely censured for having spoken of the fear which attends repentance as savouring of sin. Works performed in a state of grace were spoken of as perfect, and meriting salvation. Luther had represented them as always retaining some portion of the sinful and imperfect nature of fallen man. On this was founded the indignant question, What, if such a doctrine be true, becomes of the Virgin's righteousness, to attribute to whom even the smallest venial sin, would be a blasphemy that ought to be punished by the united powers of earth and hell? The terms used in the controversy afforded another theme for discussion. Grace and justification had still to be defined. Each party felt that much depended upon securing for itself the advantage at this stage of the inquiry. Scripture was cited on both sides; and it frequently happened, in the warmth of debate, that the truth shone forth, and offered itself as a dawning and heavenly light to the disputants. But it was the predetermined object of the assembly to condemn certain doctrines as heretical. This held the minds of the fathers in close bondage. When the natural energy of their intellects rendered them impatient of control, and they strove to take flight, they were soon made aware of the precise length of the chain which bound them. Repeated efforts and repeated failures diversified the wearisome years spent in the operations of the council; but if it can ever be melancholy to contemplate the wasted strength of ability, then is it so, in the highest degree, when, not employed about things unworthy of its nature, it sacrifices both its own dignity, and the purity of the truths on which it is exercised, to the seeming necessity or expediency of the hour.

Events, to which our attention will be directed in the next chapter, disturbed for a time the regular meetings of the congregations. But on the 20th of August, the aspect of public affairs was sufficiently calm to enable the fathers to re-assemble for the purpose of drawing up

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the anathemas against Luther's view of justification. Three bishops and three generals of religious orders were selected to execute this task. It is affirmed, however, that the Cardinal de St. Croix, who presided in the congregation, had no desire to see the subject disposed of. The dispute on the nature of grace was, therefore, renewed. Some of the members insisted that any feeling of assurance respecting a state of grace was full of error and presumption. Others contended that it was meritorious. Both scripture and the fathers were cited in support of these contrary opinions. The favourite text on the one side was that which cautions the believer to, "work out his salvation with fear and trembling.*" On the other it was asked, in the words of the apostle, "Know ye not your own selves how that Jesus Christ is in you, except ye be reprobates?†" and this was followed by the statement addressed to the same people: "We have received not the spirit of the world, but the spirit which is of God, that we might know the things that are freely given to us of God;"‡ and that other, of similar import, to the Romans: "The spirit beareth witness with our spirit that we are the children of God."‖ "It would be the height of rashness" said Catharin, "to accuse those of presumption who believe that the Holy Spirit is in them. St. Ambrose has observed, that the comforter never speaks to us without making it manifest who it is that speaks. Jesus Christ himself said to his disciples, that the world could not receive the spirit of truth, 'because it seeth him not, neither knoweth him; but ye know him, for he dwelleth with you, and shall be in you.'"§

So powerful were the arguments thus urged by Catharin, that some of the most violent of his antagonists could not refuse to acknowledge their force. Even Andrew de Vega confessed himself obliged to believe that scripture was on the side of those who insisted that the presence of grace might certainly be known. To modify, however, this declaration, he endeavoured to draw a distinction between the perception of grace, and

* Philip, ii., 12. † 2 Cor. xiii. 5. ‡ 1 Cor. ii. 12.
‖ Rom. viii. 16. § John xiv. 17.

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the distinct knowledge which would be given by revelation. But the question was then put, whether conviction might not be resisted, or whether it was really divine, or human? To this it was answered, that the faith spoken of being the witness of the spirit, could not properly be called free, for a divine revelation must necessarily insure conviction. But if, argued the opponents of Catharin, this certainty be not equal to the catholic faith, it cannot exclude all doubt; and if it be equal, the just must then believe himself justified because he assents to all the articles of faith. Catharin replied, that the conviction of which he spoke was a divine faith, and certain as the catholic faith, but not the same thing, the one being general, the other particular.

Such was the angry feeling displayed in the course of this debate, that the cardinal who presided gladly allowed the parties to break off into a new discussion on the nature of the will. Six propositions were drawn from the works of Luther, and of these the first two were described as the assertions of a madman. "God is the sole cause of all our works, whether they be good or bad. The treason of Judas was as much his work as the calling of St. Paul,"* and "No one has liberty to think well

* A modern writer of eminence has stated in what manner he considers this sentiment might be advanced without blasphemy, and in what way alone it can be ascribed to the reformers. "They who object, that this doctrine makes God the author of sin, ought distinctly to explain what they mean by that phrase, *the author of sin*. I know the phrase, as it is commonly used, signifies something very ill. If by *the author of sin* be meant *the sinner, the agent, or the actor of sin, or the doer of a wicked thing*, so it would be a reproach and blasphemy to suppose God to be the author of sin. In this sense I utterly deny God to be the author of sin: rejecting such an imputation on the Most High, as what is infinitely to be abhorred; and deny any such thing to be the consequence of what I have laid down. But if, by *the author of sin*, is meant the permitter, or not a hinderer of sin, and at the same time, a disposer of events, in such a manner, for wise, holy and most excellent purposes, that sin, if it be permitted and not hindered, will most certainly and infallibly follow: I say, if this be all that is meant by being the author of sin, I do not deny that God is the author of sin (though I dislike and reject that phrase, as that which by use and custom is apt to carry another sense), it is no reproach for the Most High to be thus the author of sin. This is not to be the *actor of sin*, but on the contrary, *of holiness*. What God doth herein is holy, and a glorious exercise of the infinite excellency of his nature. And I do not deny that God's being thus the author of sin follows from what I have laid down: and I assert, that it equally follows from the doctrine which is maintained by most of the Armenian divines. That

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or ill. We are under an absolute necessity. To speak of liberty is to amuse ourselves with a chimera." Statements of this kind can never be presented in the form of detached and naked propositions, without creating in ordinary understandings either a feeling of proud and determined opposition, or of sadness and vexation, resulting from the thought, that, if such be the elements of doctrine, the mind that receives them must soon sink under the weight of the mystery, and lie confounded and dark beneath the awful burthen. That they were to be understood in such a sense as to make God the author of evil, no one who knew what were the principles of Luther's theology, or who had not resolved to pervert his meaning for purposes of controversy, could for a moment suppose. But it must be confessed that if such statements be judged necessary to the full explication of doctrine; if it supposed that God's sovereignty cannot be properly vindicated without assertions so liable to be mistaken, the utmost care should be used to place them in the clear light of other and simpler arguments. It often, however, happens that principles which require most explication, and the most cautious mode of statement, are spoken of by religious teachers in a tone of pride and severity which seem purposely employed to defy contradiction. They regard the doctrine proclaimed as necessary to their system, and as unquestionably true. Familiar with it in all its bearings, they forget how differently it may appear to other minds when divested of these accompaniments. But despising considerations of this nature, and only intent on the assertion of their dogma, they provoke themselves into the employment of the most startling language, and become more haughty in their style, as the minds they would convince shrink more tremblingly from their grasp.

No epithet which could mark disgust was left unemployed in designating the doctrine of Luther as stated in these articles. Marinier, however, observed that

it is most certainly so that God is in such a manner the disposer and orderer of sin, is evident, if any credit is to be given to the Scriptures; as well as because it is impossible, in the nature of things, to be otherwise."—Edwards on the Will, Part iv., sec. ix., 2.

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though it would be absurd to say that we have no power over any of our actions, it was scarcely less false to pretend that we are masters of all our actions. This want of perfect liberty is proclaimed by a thousand inward struggles; and the schools teach the same truth, when they assert that the first movements of the will are not free, and that this it is which makes the difference between the blessed angels and men, the former being free from the earliest movement of thought.

But Catharin replied, that more must be claimed for divine grace, and that without its especial influence no good action could be performed. Hence the doctrine stated in the fourth article, "that we have only liberty to do ill," ought not to be hastily condemned. Andrew de Vega declared that, in some respects, the protestant theologians had not erred from the catholic belief on this subject; and actually seemed inclined to suggest reasons for a species of compromise. This excited no slight degree of discontent among the members of the congregation generally; nor was the angry tone which prevailed at all subdued when it was next asked, "whether man is at liberty to believe, or not believe?" The Franciscans argued, that, as belief depends upon the amount of evidence produced, no one can believe or disbelieve at his own pleasure. In direct opposition to this, the Dominicans asserted that nothing is more under the power of the will than faith; and that, if a man chose, he might believe almost any thing.

It is plain that the Franciscans evaded the point at issue, by referring to the amount of evidence required to produce assent. The question respected the will, and was simply this, Can the mind acknowledge, or reject, at pleasure, the truth proposed for its acceptance? To suppose that the evidence may be sufficient to control the understanding, is to confound faith with knowledge. That which is received on evidence, which admits of no exercise of the will, or of the usual dispositions, is simple science; and if this were the only source of belief, there would be nothing like that which we now call faith. The convictions of the Christian are a mark of the state of grace, because intimately associated with the

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operations of the will. Were it, indeed, asked whether those convictions were self-generated, or whether they depended on the mere decisions of the mind, the tenor of scripture would teach us to reply, that as all good gifts come from above, so must this most precious one of faith. But such an answer is very different to that of the Franciscans, who in referring the whole to a species of evidence which would not permit the mind to doubt, did in reality as much diminish the true worth and excellence of faith, as they would have lowered the dignity of heavenly grace, by supposing that faith could be acquired without its influence.

That the will is above the influence of proof, which would seem to follow from the notion of the Dominicans, is contrary to the nature of things, and to common experience. But it is not necessary to assert this, in order to show the power of the will in the work of faith. Evidence must be had before any truth can be received as such. The will may be opposed to the reception of testimony, or it may be inclined to admit it, according to its proper degree of force. It cannot reject evidence of which the application is understood, without violating its own best functions; nor can it entertain a faith which contradicts sound reason and valid testimony, without folly and superstition. That a man may believe almost any thing is, therefore, only true in as far as he may overcome the natural dictates of his understanding, and believe against reason; or overcome its pride and obstinacy, and assent to that which is above it. Both parties spoke in terms too general to be right. Evidence, and the proper operation of the will, are equally necessary to a sound and lively faith. Without the one, it is the mere creation of accident: without the other, it is knowledge unquickened by love, or any graces of the Spirit.

Before the debate was brought to a close, predestination and reprobation were alluded to as intimately connected with questions respecting the nature of grace, and its dispensation. The writings of Luther, the confession of Augsburg, and other German authorities were consulted; but they presented no ground for accusing

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the Lutherans of heresy on this subject. From the works of Zuinglius, however, and his followers, there were extracted these eight propositions: first, that the cause of predestination and reprobation is to be sought not in man, but in the will of God: secondly, that the predestined can never be condemned, nor the reprobate be saved: thirdly, that the elect and the predestinated alone are those that are justified: fourthly, that the justified are obliged by faith to believe that they are of the number of the predestinated: fifthly, that the justified cannot lose grace: sixthly, that those who are called, but belong not to the number of the elect, cannot lose grace: seventhly, that those who are justified must believe that they will persevere to the end: eighthly, that a justified person must believe that if he should lose grace, he will at some period or the other surely recover it.

On the first of these propositions it was argued, that the doctrine which it contained was sound and catholic, for that, according to Duns Scotus, as well as Thomas Aquinas, and other theologians, God before the creation of the world chose from the mass of mankind, by his sole will and mercy, those whom he had predestinated to glory, and for whom he had prepared the efficacious means of grace necessary to their attainment of eternal salvation. It was also to be believed, continued these theologians, that the number of persons so predestinated was certain and definite, and therefore neither to be increased nor diminished; that those who were not saved could not complain, seeing that God had prepared for them means of grace sufficient for salvation, though the elect only employed them effectively to that end; and that the whole of this doctrine was fully established by the reasoning of St. Paul, who, in the ninth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans had argued from the instance of Jacob and Esau, that election was without works, and that it was simply according to the good pleasure of the Almighty.*

The comparison of the potter and the clay; the refer-

* Paolo Sarpi, t. I., liv. ii., p. 377. Fleury, t. VIII., art. vii., l. 143. Pallavicini Hist. Conc. Trident., lib. VIII., c. xii. & xiii.

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ence to the case of Pharaoh, and other arguments of a similar kind, were also urged; and it was insisted, that, had not the apostle viewed the subject in the light of a most sublime mystery, he would not have applied to it the terms which he has used to describe its wonderful and impenetrable character. St. Augustine, it was added, had employed the latter years of his life chiefly in advocating this doctrine; and in citing his name the supporters of predestination, as a principle of Christian religion, did the utmost they could effect by any reference to human authority.

But the arguments thus advanced, were answered in a strain of severe and angry reproof. Is it not, it was said, to accuse God of cruelty and horrible injustice to speak of him as the author of an irrespective election like this? Can he have created so many millions of souls only to condemn them? Is it possible that the will should be so entirely under the power of an antecedent decree?

Catharin made an effort to modify the opinions of the opposite parties, so as to silence the dispute. He argued, that God has chosen out of the mass of mankind a small number, whom by the efficacy of an absolute election he will certainly bring to glory. That, with regard to the rest of the world, he desires the salvation of all men, and bestows upon them sufficient means of grace to aid them in the attainment of heaven; but these he leaves at liberty to avail themselves or not of his great goodness and mercy. Some of them consequently are saved, and others lost; and hence he concluded, that, while the will of God is the sole cause of the salvation of the elect, the deliverance of the rest depends upon co-operation, and the use which they make of the gifts of grace. At the close of his address, Catharin remarked, that the opinion of Augustine was unknown to the earlier fathers; and that Augustine himself had not embraced it till the latter period of his life.

A similar variety of opinions prevailed respecting the second article. The remaining propositions were censured by the congregation with little opposition; but

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when the formularies were read, which included the principal heads of the whole discussion, each party saw reason to doubt the fairness or propriety of the language employed. It is evident that this could scarcely fail to be the case. Controversialists have a twofold feeling; they are interested, if inspired by any degree of honest sentiment, in the subject discussed, because it is of importance, and closely connected with the cause of truth and justice. But they are also concerned as men of mind, and, by a most natural feeling of self respect, for the success of the arguments by which they have supposed the truth may be best supported. Let the question about which they are engaged be decided as they would wish, and they enjoy the satisfaction which belongs to them in common with other minds interested in the same cause. But they cannot have forgotten the part they took in determining the question; they cannot lose sight of the supposed value of their own arguments; and when the subject is represented in the form given it by the force of the several minds employed in moulding and quickening it, they can scarcely fail to ask, Where is the particular impress which we intended to leave upon it? or, Why has it been smoothed down and polished till that which was its chief grace in our eyes has completely vanished?

The archbishop of Corfu naturally inquired, "How is it that the anathemas are dictated in such general terms, when there were so many particular objections to the propositions?" He might have been answered, in terms as direct as the question was natural, that no single maxim declaring a proposition to be false, could, however worded, exhibit the several arguments by which it had been proved erroneous. It was this, no doubt, which induced the antient councils to express their decisions in the simplest and most direct terms that could be employed; and their example furnished the present assembly with sufficient means to elude the difficulties attending another mode of proceeding. There were, however, many reasons why care should be taken to avoid the danger of involving any portion of truth in the broad condemnation of supposed errors. One of

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the bishops, therefore, advised that a twofold decree should be published, so that while, in the former part, the doctrine of the Church was clearly defined, in the latter, the heresy might be condemned fully and unreservedly, and without the hazard of confounding in that sentence any of the distinctions recognized by the orthodox.* This proposal was agreed to; and Canons and Decrees were the titles respectively given to the instruments containing the anathemas, and the declaration of catholic doctrine.

It appears to be generally acknowledged, that the Cardinal St. Croix manifested equal patience and liberality in the management of these discussions. No fewer than a hundred congregations were summoned to examine the various questions started in the course of the debate. Besides attending to the arguments advanced in these numerous meetings, he invited the several theologians, who took part in the debate, to make him acquainted with their sentiments in frequent private interviews. Notwithstanding the differences which originally prevailed, and which seemed scarcely to be overcome by this indulgence, he succeeded, at length, in producing some harmony of opinion. The canons and decrees were drawn up without any trace being left of the difficulties which had attended their adoption; and though many sacrifices must necessarily have been made on both sides, neither party appears, from this portion of its labours, to have conceived against the other any of the bitterness which so frequently attends the mere politic compromise of opinion.†

An important part of the duties which pertained to the council was accomplished, when it thus determined what should be considered, for the future, the unalterable doctrine of the Roman Church. The theologians who

* Fleury, t. VIII., art. vii., liv. cxliii., n. 73. Paolo Sarpi, t. I., liv. ii., p. 384.

† It is a curious fact, that shortly after the session Dominic Soto published a treatise, in three books, on Nature and Grace, and which was written for the professed purpose of illustrating the doctrine of the council, showing its conformity with scripture. The same thing was done by his chief opponent, Andrew de Vega, who also wrote a work in which he strongly supports the doctrine of the council, as conformable to his own views, and to the catholic doctrine of the Church.—Paolo Sarpi, t. I., liv. ii., p. 366.

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were present naturally regarded this as the most necessary portion of their labours; and had they been left to pursue without interruption the open track of inquiry, nothing more would have been done than that which simply regarded the settlement of opinion on points of doctrine. This would also have been sufficient to satisfy, though from other considerations, the views of the Pontiff and his court. But there was a party in the council to which the long and earnest discussions of questions of faith seemed mistimed, and ill adapted to effect the most necessary objects of the assembly. These consisted of the bishops in the interest of Spain, of some of the French prelates, and of others who, either from disaffection founded on private feelings, or from the belief that reformation of manners was more needed than determination of doctrine, beheld, with impatience, the delays allowed in the examination of practical abuses.

The residence of bishops was a matter not easily disposed of. Instead of looking at the subject by the light of common sense or the plain rules of Christian prudence and charity, questions were started which involved it immediately in obscurity, and enabled the sophists, who were ever at hand to assist in such a cause, to render doubtful the most valuable principles of ecclesiastical discipline. That different orders and degrees are necessary in the Church, might be shown by reference to what takes place in all the constitutions of society, by the example of Christian antiquity, and the intimations of scripture; but by no reference whatever could it be proved that offices had been instituted in the early Church for the mere advantage of those who held them, or that pastors had been created with free permission never to take care of their flocks, or overseers appointed to provinces which they were never to visit. Nothing is better calculated to show the extreme state of darkness and corruption into which the Roman Church had fallen, than the monstrous indulgence shown to its dignitaries in regard to residence. While the clergy generally were obliged to depend, in great measure, on what they could obtain from their people, and thence to

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labour with diligence, if honest, or to corrupt the fountains of truth by every species of deceitful arts, if slothful and unholy, the most wealthy of their bishops were to be found afar off, exhausting the resources of the Church by a proud and profligate luxury. Instead of performing the part of overseers, they were frequently altogether ignorant of the state of their dioceses; rarely or never entering them, and only anxious, either to exchange them for better or to unite them with others.

In the discussion of this weighty matter, the leading question was, whether the duty of residence depended upon the command of God or the authority of the Pope? Carranza appeared in this debate, and, with Dominic Soto, strongly supported the party which declared the obligation of residence to be founded on divine law. Episcopacy, they said, was instituted by Jesus Christ, and as involving a ministry and particular work, which it was impossible should be performed by those who were absent. According to the Saviour's description, a good shepherd exposes his life for his sheep, and knoweth those which are his, calling them by their names, and going before them; but how do such things agree with the character of bishops who are almost strangers to those over whom they are appointed to preside?

To these arguments the Italian bishops, supported by the canonists, replied, that Timothy, when bishop of Ephesus, passed the greater part of his time in travelling, and that St. Peter had been instructed to feed the flock of God wherever it might be, which it would have been impossible for him to do had it been necessary that he himself should be present for the performance of the work. The wretched sophistry of such reasoning must have been evident to the dullest mind; but it was added, that the residence of bishops had never been insisted upon in the antient Church, as demanded by the law of God; and that, consequently, the only punishment inflicted on those by whom it was neglected, was simply that which belonged to transgressors of the canons.

Catharin insisted that Jesus Christ had instituted episcopacy, but only in the person of St. Peter, and that

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all other bishops owed their dignity to the Pope. Campegio, again, affirmed that episcopacy was altogether the creation of Jesus Christ, but that the division of bishopricks was of ecclesiastical institution.

The Spanish bishops, who had been long striving for independence, saw how important a bearing the whole of this discussion must have upon their interests, both present and future. Let them but once establish the principle, that their office and duties rested upon a right divine, and the transition would be easy to the assertion of an authority which would enable them, in a short time, to set at defiance the usurpations of the Pope. It was evidently a moment of great danger to the party which had most at heart the defence of Rome. The condemnation of heresy, though preceded by long and sometimes angry debates, was an object about which there was not likely to remain any permanent difference, constituted as were the council and its congregations. But here was a dispute which concerned the personal interests of every bishop present, and on the decision of which depended the fortunes of the most ambitious among them. The legates knew, that the farther they proceeded in such a discussion the greater would be the difficulty of extricating themselves from the toils of the argument. They exhorted the disputants, therefore, to refrain from agitating questions which were not essentially involved in the subject of residence. A dispute among Catholics would, at such a period, they observed, be attended with grievous consequences, and afford a triumph to the Lutherans equally afflicting and injurious to the true members of the Church.

To restore the authority of the antient canons, to inflict the penalties which they had prescribed, and at once sweep away the long list of exemptions under which so many abuses had sprung up, was the mode of proceeding which offered the fewest difficulties and presented the fairest chance of success. Both the legates and the parties which they felt most anxious to control agreed in this; but insuperable obstacles existed to the settlement of the questions which arose on the subject of privilege. The higher orders of the clergy could not

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condescend to be trammelled by the same rules as those who had never known the luxury of exemptions. It was well seen by the Pope and his legates, that it required a greater degree of power than Rome itself possessed to introduce a reform which should oblige every class of the hierarchy to acknowledge the same rule of duty, and act consistently with the obvious demands of Christ and His Church. Nothing, therefore, was more dreaded than the conjuncture which should oblige the council to decide openly and plainly between the claims of the richer prelates and cardinals and the dictates of truth and holiness. To reject the latter, when audibly expressed, could never be safe under any circumstances; but to provoke the opposition of the most influential of the men whose names had so often been used to support the grandeur of the Church, and that at a time when it most desired to awe mankind, and subdue the rising spirit of equality, was inconsistent with every principle of Italian policy.

The difficulties which attended any attempt to lessen the privileges of the higher clergy existed, in equal force, with regard to those of the monastic orders. Rome had been greatly indebted to the regulars for many ages of undisturbed tranquillity. To their labours might be ascribed the ready and fervent attachment of the people to a system under which they had otherwise groaned in fierce disgust. By the preaching of the monks they had been taught the worth of the belief which they cherished, the merits which belonged to obedience, and, while the secular clergy were generally contented with reading the breviary, the regulars left nothing unsaid or undone which might subject the heart and mind to the thraldom on which the Church was to base its glory and dominion. For the execution of tasks which had these objects in view, a certain degree of liberty was required which could not be claimed with equal fairness on the part of the seculars. But now that the work had been done, and the loyalty of the orders proved by centuries of devotion, it was next to impossible that the rulers of the Church, to which they had rendered such essential service, should deprive them of

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exemptions, which had been at first granted only that they might the more effectually resign themselves to the warfare undertaken for the Church's good.

Little surprise, therefore, ought to be expressed that the legates were alarmed at the course which the present debate seemed, at one time, likely to take. The difficulty was only to be obviated by an appeal to the good sense of the fathers, and this was made, and, for the moment, appeared to produce the temper which it was desirable to excite. By these means the danger was thrown to a greater distance; and the promises of future sessions quieted spirits which it might have been impossible to satisfy by the determinations of the present.

The sixth session was opened on the 13th of January. Ten archbishops, forty-five bishops, five generals of orders, two abbots, the procureurs of the cardinal of Augsburg and the archbishop of Treves; the Cardinals Pachéco and Madruccio, with the two legates Del Monte and Cervin,* formed the august

A. D. 1547.

* Cardinal Pole was at this time at Rome. The sermon was preached by Thomas Stella, bishop of Salpi, &c. "Quod si daretur rem exemplis illustrare præclaris, multum profecto conferremus ad persuasionem; sed gratias ago Deo, quod in ea corona verba facio, ubi sunt qui sensus habent exercitatos ad solidum veritatis cibum, et opus non habent iis quibus informantur indoctæ plebes. Concludam igitur hac parte, quod fortitudini et gloriosum mortales existimant, nimirum per victoriam potiri rerum, id ipsum caritati merito tribui. Vincit enim caritas quæcumque fortia. Quamobrem jure isti redditur corona victoriæ. Est enim primum in nobis magna vis illa peccati, quæ dominatur in membris nostris: hoc autem a sola caritate castigatur, contunditur, debellatur. Est item mundus et eorum cupiditas quæ in mundo sunt. Sicut autem clavus clavo tunditur, sic amor sæculi hac una et sola caritate propellitur. Est diabolus dæmon, de quo divina sunt testimonia, quod non est potestas super terram quæ comparetur ei; et tamen hanc superat et conficit sola caritas. Est mors, quod ultimum terribilium dixere naturæ rerum exploratores: qui vero pietatem coluerunt, æterni damni, hoc est gehennæ malum, quod est mors secunda, formidabilius et horrendum magis merito prædicarunt. Sed hæc omnia superat caritas, quæ si perfecta sit, omnem foras mittit timorem pœnam habentem. Est denique et quiddam in nobis internum, quod iis omnibus fortius est, scilicet ipsa voluntas, quæ si superatur, victoria est omnium maxima et gloriosissima; sed hanc etiam una et sola caritas vincit, quæ nos dicere toto corde compellit, *si fieri nequit, ut transeat a me calix iste*, iterum et tertio, *non mea*, Pater, *sed tua voluntas fiat, sicut in cœlo et in terra:* hoc est proprium caritatis, quod nulla aia virtus potest efficere. Hæc sola, quæ non quærit quæ sua sunt, sed quæ Dei et Jesu Christi, quo certe officio summus perficitur victoriæ gradus, cum jam non creatura, cui est ad serviendum innata necessitas, vincitur, sed ipse, ipse, inquam, Dominus Deus rerum omnium conditor et servator superatur. Quare quid obsecro excellentius aut fortius cogitari posset? Hæsitat forte aliquis hoc in loco et miratur quinam fieri potest, ut nostra

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assembly which now proceeded to publish the canons and decrees prepared by the late congregations.

In the former of these decrees we have a clear and succinct statement of the views taken by the Roman Church on the most important of Christian doctrines, It was divided into sixteen chapters, and comprised thirty-three anathemas, which were founded on the following summary of catholic faith. Neither Jews nor Gentiles, say the fathers of the Council of Trent, can by the letter of the law, or the force of nature, deliver themselves from the bondage of sin. Christ alone has redeemed both the one and the other; but though he died for all, they only will enjoy everlasting felicity to whom the merits of his death are personally imputed. The justification of the wicked is nothing else than the change which takes place when they are translated from the condition of children of Adam to that of children of God, adopted in Jesus Christ. Since the publication of the gospel this justification is not enjoyed without baptism, or the desire of baptism. The com-

caritate vincatur invictissimus ipse Deus? At non magnopere mirandum, quoniam hoc ipsius Dei immensa et incomparabilis bonitas et caritas efficit, ut tunc demum vinci a nobis voluerit, cum per hoc suum caritatis donum vincimus nosmetipsos, dispicientes quæ nostra sunt et sua. O ergo surditatem eorum profundam, qui non audiunt: *Si linguis hominum loquar et angelorum, caritatem autem non habeam, factus sum velut æs sonans aut symbalum tinniens; et si habuero omnem fidem ita, ut montes transferam, caritatem autem non habuero, nihil sum; et si destribuero in cibos pauperum omnes facultates meas, et tradidero corpus meum ita, ut ardeam; caritatem autem non habuero, nihil sum, nihil mihi prodest. Finis enim præcepti est caritas de corde puro et conscientia bona et fide non ficta.* Ad hanc unam, ut ipsa veritas attestatur, aspexerunt lex et prophetæ, ut perfectus sit homo Dei, ad omne opus bonum instructus, quia plenitudo legis est caritas, per quam viva fides operatur quæ Deo placent.

Quærunt multi magno et desiderio et labore intelligentiam scripturarum, verum librum ignorant, qui est caritas. Nam ei qui diligit, et quæ latent et quæ patent in scripturis perspicua sunt et aperta. Totum enim opus legis non atramento in cartis et membranis mortuis, sed Spiritu Dei viventis scriptum habet et vivum gestat in corde, quia jam ille vivit Christus in illo. Quid ergo tandem, aut quis fructus orationis meæ? Sit sane magnum opus et memorabile et multa dignum laude, veram justificationis doctrinam sapienter explicasse, et cunctis suscipiendam populis tradidisse, ut ubi omnes thesaurum suum, quæ est caritas quam prædicamus, intueantur, agnoscant, vadant et vendant omnia quæ habent et illum emant. At quid hoc nobis proderit, si nos miseri eo caruerimus, quem aliis indicamus, et simus tales quales fixi lapides, qui viatoribus civitatem, ubi morandum sit, ostendunt quidem eam, tamen ipsi immobiles numquam ingrediuntur. Verum non est hic fructus quem optare debemus, sed ille, inquam, quem hodiernus festivus ac jucundus dies sua celebritate nobis apportat, qui epiphania, hoc est apparitio et manifestatio Domini dicitur.—Le Plat. t. I., pp. 107–109.

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mencement of justification is known by the workings of preventing grace, which, in adults, inclines the heart to seek for holiness, and, by a free consent, to resign itself to the motions of the spirit.

Some difficulty attends the mention of a voluntary preparation for justification which is itself to begin with the preventing grace of God. But in the next section of the decree we are told that, in order to open the way to our justification, we must freely believe the revelations and promises of God; and that then in confessing our sins, and the depravity of our nature, we shall pass from the dread of divine justice to the hope of pardon, whence the love of God will arise in our souls; we shall have a strong desire to receive baptism; to begin a new life, and walk henceforth in the path of holiness and salvation.

When this preparation is accomplished, justification immediately follows; and thereby the sinner is not only freed from the punishment due to his offences, but is cleansed and sanctified. Thus efficacious in its consequences, justification is to be traced to five causes; first to its final cause, the glory of God, and eternal life; secondly to its efficient cause, which is God; thirdly to its meritorious cause, Jesus Christ; fourthly to that which is instrumental, the sacraments; fifthly to the formal cause, the righteousness bestowed by God, and which is received according to the dispensation of the Spirit, who giveth to every one severally as he wills, but always imparts with the forgiveness of sins, the evangelical graces of faith, hope and charity.

Allusion is then made to the expressions employed by St. Paul, in the statement of this doctrine. Faith and grace are with the apostle the sole instrument in justification. But these terms, it was said, ought to be understood only in this sense, namely, that faith is the principle of justification, and that the works which precede it are not meritorious or deserving of grace. Sins are not pardoned, it was added, when there is any pride of heart on the subject; and hence it ought not to be said, that faith alone justifies; or that a person may judge himself, beyond all doubt, to be in a state of sal-

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vation, since however much it is our duty and interest to acknowledge the sufficiency of God's mercy, the merits of Christ, and the efficacy of the sacraments, the view of our sins ought to be sufficient to make us pause, before we speak of any infallible certainty respecting the presence of grace in our souls.

The following sections treat of the power of the just to fulfil the commandments of God, and allude to the doctrine of Luther respecting the mixture of sin with even the best of our works. Of predestination it is said, that no one ought to believe himself predestinated; or that being justified he can sin no more, or if he should, that he must certainly be restored to holiness. No one, therefore, can assure himself that he will persevere to the end; but ought rather to hope humbly in God, who never forsakes a man, till he has been himself forsaken. Grace may be recovered, if God excite the heart to seek it by penitence; but this penitence is different to that which precedes baptism; for it requires not only contrition, but sacramental confession, sacerdotal absolution, and penance. Disbelief destroys grace; and this is also the case with every mortal sin, and with such even as do not remove faith from the mind.

At the end of this summary of doctrine, the fathers exhort those who are justified, to prove by their good works the efficacy of divine grace. To such works, they say, God has promised the recompense of eternal life; but not on this account is man to conclude that it is by his own merits that heaven is gained. The very works which are rewarded, derive their worth from the grace producing them; the righteousness of the just is theirs because it is in their hearts, but it is also the righteousness of God, for it is He only who confers it, and that in virtue of the intercession and merits of Jesus Christ.*

That this statement of doctrine might not be exposed to the danger of any of those imperfect interpretations, which so commonly follow mere positive declarations of faith, another set of propositions accompanied the decree, and anathemas were pronounced against those who be-

* Fleury, t. VIII., art. vii. Paolo Sarpi, t. I., liv. ii. Pallavicini Hist. Conc. Trident., lib. VIII., c. xviii.

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lieved that man could be justified without grace; or that it is only given to enable a man to live well with greater ease than he could without it. Those also are condemned who suppose that man can believe, love, or hope and repent, without the preventing and co-operating grace of the Holy Spirit. The same judgment is passed upon those who deny the liberty of the will, or assert that it was lost by the sin of Adam; or speak as if God were the author of bad works, as well as of good. So also of those who deny the merit of works, who speak of the fear of hell as sin; or who assert, that the impious is justified by his faith alone, without the necessity of any preparation or any movement of his own will, inclining him to holiness. As a corollary to this it follows, that they also deserve condemnation, who pretend, that man is justified by the imputation of Christ's merits, or by the mere remission of their sins, without grace, or inherent charity, or that the grace of justification is nothing more than the favour of God. Equally obnoxious to the anathema are they who describe faith which justifies as simple confidence in the mercy of God, or assert that, to obtain remission, we must believe that our sins are forgiven, without allowing our own unworthiness to inspire any doubt to the contrary.

Such anathemas were equally imprudent and unscriptural; but it might be said by their supporters, and that with much truth and justice, that they were occasioned by the violence and uncharitableness of those against whom they were directed. A wide distinction ought always to be preserved between the articles of evangelical religion, in which the very substance of revelation consists, and which have been conveyed to us in the words of the Holy Ghost, as the essentials of faith, and those of secondary import in respect to the nature of the doctrine, however important to many minds in regard to their own desires and aspirations. That Jesus was the Son of God; that by faith in the blood of his cross we are justified; that the Holy Spirit alone can sanctify us, and make us fit to enter the kingdom of God; these are essentials to the Christian creed; a man is not a Christian, properly so called, who receives them not. But who

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would venture to place in the same rank, the dogmas which depend for their evidence on the feelings of the heart, on the movements of the mind, or even on the loftiest sentiments of the spiritual understanding? In the one case there is the direct, unvarying testimony of God's word. It may be understood by the simplest mind, that he who believeth not the Son of God is condemned, that he whom the Spirit hath not regenerated is carnal, sensual, dead in trespasses and sins, and incapable of any act which belongs to the life of faith. But the most enlightened understanding may surely be subject, though assured of God's goodness, and Christ's sufficiency, to feelings of sadness and depression, in which the soul may be disposed to ask whether it be sure of glory; whether it be not possible, that the sins of which it has been guilty may have finally deprived it of God's favour. Even in seasons of ordinary tranquillity, it cannot, we suppose, be any great violation of faith in the offers of salvation, of confidence in the fulness of Christ's merits, to question, in humbleness of spirit, our own gratitude, our own obedience to the terms offered; or the possibility of our allowing the world and its temptations to allure us again from the path of holiness. Taking it for granted that the doctrines referred to are deducible from the language of scripture, yet in their case the want of confidence is not in respect to God, but to the miserable weakness of the human heart; it is humility only mistaking its proper office, and not the usual enemies of faith, which engenders the doubt. Glory is given to Christ for his atonement. He is received, and most thankfully, as a Saviour. There is no denial of his divine attributes; no want of assurance that He is the way, the truth, and the life; and it would seemingly be to confound things the most distinct to condemn the heart thus animated with a humble but lively faith, in the same manner as that which rejects the Saviour from a principle the most positively the reverse of that which fills the other with fear for its own condition. The anathema pronounced in the one case provoked one equally fierce in the other. To believe with unhesitating confidence in his own predestination had been declared essential to salvation; that is, without such a belief no

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one ought to be regarded as a sinner recovered from the bondage of iniquity and death. In answer to this, the entertaining of such a notion was declared heretical and deserving of the curse of the universal Church. That Church, in the purer part of it, could not fail to be scandalized by disputes and assertions so abhorrent from the spirit and character of the gospel. It teaches men to repose on the mercy of God; to acknowledge the stedfastness of his promises; to watch and pray, and strive continually for increases of grace. These things are necessary both to justification and salvation. A faith which recognizes not its great leading doctrines is not a justifying or saving faith; but it leaves a wide latitude to the varying states of feeling through which the mind passes before it can say the victory is won. It does not demand in the infancy of faith a confession of assurance which ought to be looked for only in its maturest periods; nor does it determine that all dispositions must exhibit the same aptitude for hope, the same readiness to rejoice, and to look continually on the brightest and most exhilarating features of the gospel covenant. The one great requisite is, that they abide in Christ who is the Saviour of all that believe, that belief which distinguishes and justifies them having all the characteristics which belong to confidence in another, and acting in respect to the object contemplated immediately and directly, but in regard to themselves only reflexly.

Many other topics of a similar nature were spoken of in this portion of the decree. Of these, some exhibited the views of the reformers in a manner so exaggerated that the doctrine really professed could be scarcely recognized. Other things were condemned because not understood, or not viewed in the light which was necessary to show their consistency with every proper interpretation of Christian doctrine. Thus an anathema was pronounced against those who affirmed that Christ came not as a legislator, but as a redeemer; a statement which it is difficult to imagine any theologian who had duly considered the nature of Christ's mission and preaching could have honestly condemned. Of a somewhat different character, but plainly not the proper subject for

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an anathema, was the article which set forth, that righteousness is not preserved or increased by good works, but that good works are the fruits of righteousness. A very moderate acquaintance with the rules of argumentation, with an equally moderate share of good temper, and scriptural learning, might surely have settled questions of this nature, without obliging either the one party or the other to violate, in so signal a manner, the law of charity. By the multiplication of anathemas, theology and the dogmas of the Church were brought before mankind as things to be looked at with dread. They are in themselves the proper objects of a calm religious awe, which would prevent the unhallowed intrusion of either pride or levity; but it is equally injurious to both the minds and hearts of Christians to find the wrath of man undertaking the guardianship of truth. Righteousness must have changed its nature before it can rejoice in such a champion; and if, in an evil hour, the believer can be made to suppose that he is justified in employing any means for the purpose of promoting God's glory, he may also be persuaded that for the gospel's sake he may deny the gospel, or, in honour of Christian charity, may allow Christ to be blasphemed, and join in the blasphemy.

The second part of the decree concerned the provisions which had been made on the subject of reformation. In the first section, the object of the council was declared to be the correction of the depraved manners which had of late years infected both the clergy and people. To effect this design it had been judged fit to begin with those who held the highest stations in the Church. To their negligence might be ascribed a large portion of the evils complained of; and it was, therefore, to be devoutly hoped that, for the future, none would be admitted to the office of bishop who had not been from their childhood accustomed to the exercises of piety, and a conscientious obedience to ecclesiastical law. Many of those who, at present, possessed the dignities of the Church, were known to have abandoned their flocks to pass their time in the courts of princes, occupying themselves with secular affairs, and intention

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nothing but their personal aggrandizement, or the enjoyment of luxury. Against such persons, therefore, the council renewed the antient canons in all their extent and severity, and still further ordained, that if any prelate, whatever might be his rank or title, should absent himself from his diocese for six months together, without some just and reasonable cause, he should lose the fourth part of his revenue; that if he persisted in this conduct, the metropolitan, under pain of an interdict, should be obliged, within three months, to denounce him to the Pope, who, on his own authority, should employ some heavier chastisement, or provide a worthier pastor for the Church.

In respect to the clergy generally, those who held benefices which, either by right or custom, required residence, were ordered immediately to repair to their parishes.* The exemptions and privileges which had hitherto been pleaded were totally annulled. In cases where the necessity of a temporary absence was obvious, the bishop of the diocese might grant the required license after sufficient proof had been given him that the indulgence was claimed on reasonable grounds. When this was not shewn, he might punish the absence of the pastor by appointing a vicar, and allowing him a portion of the benefice for his maintenance.

By another law, of equal importance to the reformation of discipline, it was ordained, that no secular clergyman, nor any regular, absent from his monastery, should be allowed to plead that he was not subject to the bishop, or that he was exempt from the punishment which belonged to any offence committed against the laws of the Church. The chapters of the cathedrals were, by the same principle, deprived of the privilege which they had claimed to be exempt from the visits of the bishop; and, lastly, no prelate was to be allowed to interfere with the diocese of another; a law, the bare mention of which seems strongly to intimate that disorder had long prevailed in every province of the Church, and that had it not been for these decrees of reforma-

* Paolo Sarpi, t. I., liv. ii. Fleury, t. VIII., art. vii.

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tion, it must shortly have exhibited every sign of rapid and incurable decay.

The publication of these decrees furnished abundant matter for discourse both in Italy and Germany. In the former country, the chief subject of anxiety was that part of the laws which regarded the residence of the clergy. Rome was full of ecclesiastics who hovered about the court in the daily expectation of getting fresh rewards for services already performed, or finding some opportunity of proving their capability for any office which the Pontiff might be pleased to bestow. As most of them were possessed of benefices, the arrival of the decrees from Trent produced no slight sensation among those who had cherished hopes of speedy preferment. Their fate was sealed unless they could exercise sufficient influence to elude the immediate application of the rule. This, it is said, seemed so possible to many, that the alarm at first excited soon diminished, and the ecclesiastics whose wealth and rank placed them near the Pontiff were persuaded that the decrees of the council, though admirably fitted to inspire the world with the expectation of important changes, would have, in reality, but little practical effect upon the condition of the superior clergy.

In Germany, the canons of doctrine were discussed with all the warmth which might be expected to attend the reading of so many anathemas. The difficulty which the most acute of the reformers found in determining the real meaning of several of the articles, was naturally converted into an argument against the sincerity of the fathers. They had published their rule of doctrine in language which might readily have been made clear and definite, but which, as it now stood, was in many respects dark and timid. This was particularly the case with expressions employed to describe the share which man has in the work of justification. "That man does not altogether do nothing" was the sentence used to evade the doctrine of justification by faith. "But why not have boldly said," exclaimed the German divines, "That man positively does something in the work of justi-

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fication"? This would have been intelligible to every one, and we should have known precisely in what manner to understand their canons.

The extent to which the debate had been carried, and the number of doctrines decided upon, formed another subject for reprehension. More had been attempted, it was said, in this one session, than by all the councils held from the days of the apostles to the present. But it was to Aristotle, continued the reformers, that the fathers were indebted for the means of making this great show of argumentation, and arriving so quickly at the decision of the most difficult questions in the whole compass of theology. Had it not been for his division of causes, they would have wanted matter for most of their canons and articles of faith.

But while the number of the points determined was a reason for censure among one class of observers, there were others who blamed the fathers for omissions. Of these the chief objected to was that which regarded the obedience due to magistrates. The obligation to obey God and the Church had been recognized, it was said; why then omit the scriptural command which instructed men in their allegiance to princes and governors?

The decree respecting reformation was treated with equal severity. Nothing, said the German divines, could be more absurd than to hope that any salutary change could be effected by laws so loose and indefinite. To renew the antient canons, as they were spoken of by the fathers of the council, was little better than to authorize their continued neglect. If it had really been the object of the assembly to give vigour to the antient law, it would have determined the penalties due to the breach of discipline, and appointed officers properly authorized to inflict the merited punishment. Instead of doing this, it had actually given liberty to those who held benefices to be absent the whole year on paying half their income as a fine. Even this might be avoided. An absence of eleven months would not subject the faithless pastor to punishment. He might elude the law by appearing in his parish for thirty days; and if this did

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not suffice in other more difficult cases, the insertion of the clause which allowed the existence of "just and reasonable causes" of absence, would be sufficient for almost every case in which pretexts could be invented and proposed with ingenuity. The truth of this objection might have been proved by reference to the state of things in all ages of the church. Exemptions allowed for causes generally designated as reasonable will necessarily be multiplied or diminished according to the interpretation given to the expression. That which is accounted reasonable by an ecclesiastical superior of loose principles, anxious only for popularity, or for securing himself in the unquestioned enjoyment of his own immunities, will be regarded by a man of different character as wholly subversive of the interests of religion. However obvious this must be to common sense, the practice of clear and positive definition, which can alone secure the discipline of the Church, has been continually either neglected or avoided. The whole weight of the fabric has been allowed to rest on the wisdom or the will of some few individuals in the possession of power. Hence the ridicule put, both openly and secretly, upon the canons of the Church; hence the rapid decline of order and discipline, the daring multiplication of privileges, dispensations, pluralities, which, when they have existed long enough to sap the foundations of the Church, are straightway represented as actually essential to its constitution and support.

Another meeting of the council having been appointed to take place on the 3d of March, a general congregation was summoned for the 15th of January. On this occasion, the Cardinal del Monte observed, that nothing had a closer connection with justification than the sacraments, and that, therefore, the consideration of their nature and influence might properly form the subject of discussion in the following session. The congregation met again two days after, and an intimation was then given that one of the presidents of the council would enter upon an examination of the difficulties which, notwithstanding the publication of the late decrees, still

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attended the question of residence. This announcement, it is said, was received with manifest satisfaction.* The hope was again entertained, that the duty of residence might be established as founded on divine law. That the anxiety which prevailed on this subject was the result of simple love to the Church, or of a fervent desire for the furtherance of the gospel, can scarcely be concluded from any thing which we know of the temper of the times. But had the question been decided on the side of divine authority, many inferences must have followed highly favourable to the independence of the prelacy. The bond which would then bind them would be the law and authority of Christ. It would not be that of the Pope. Spiritual men would rejoicingly bow to the former for the sake of holiness and love. Worldly men would willingly profess to do so, knowing that such a profession might be made both easy and gainful; but neither the one nor the other could desire to put in competition with such a rule the domination of the Pope, which, while it was necessarily hateful to the faithful servant of Jesus, presented to the proud and ambitious prelate no path whereby he might escape from the pressure of authority to enjoy at his ease the fruits of his spoliation.

In this congregation, also, the doctrines of Luther respecting the sacraments were proposed for examination. The canonists were directed to consider to what extent the laws of the Church had been violated in the administration of these sacred rites; and a decree was prepared in which the fathers of the council taught, that the sacraments should, for the future, be administered gratuitously; that baptism should be performed only in churches properly fitted up with fonts, and that no exceptions should be allowed unless the bishop saw fit to grant them in cases where the church was at a great distance.

Thirteen canons on the sacraments in general, fourteen on baptism, and three on confirmation, were the fruit of these deliberations.† That only which was supposed to

* Fleury, t. VIII., art. vii., liv. cxliii., n. 100.
† Concilii Trident., Canon et Decret. Par. p. 51

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be novel appeared in the proposed canons. Another proof was thereby given of the danger which made itself felt at every stage of the proceedings of the council. There were differences in the opinions of some of the brightest ornaments of the Roman Catholic Church, which, if fairly considered and developed, would have been as little reconcilable with the dogmatism of Rome itself, or the inquisitorial spirit by which it was supported, as any of the doctrines of Luther. This was well known to be the case, and if any doubt had existed upon the subject before, that which had so lately taken place in the council would have been amply sufficient to prevent the necessity of further inquiry. The legates, however, soon found that the minds of the fathers were still unsettled in regard to many important points. Efforts were in vain made to convince the disputants that the expressions used in the decrees did essentially comprehend and reconcile the varieties of their opinions. Application was, therefore, made to the Pope, and nothing left unsaid which might convince him of the difficulties that must attend the approaching session, unless means were employed to satisfy the fathers that their views had been treated with attention and respect.

To the communications of the legates the Pope replied, that the full explication of the doctrine of the sacraments might occasion further disputes, and that it would, therefore, be prudent to publish nothing more than the canons and anathemas. The statements of the canonists on the abuses which had lately taken place in the administration of baptism, and confirmation, were expressed in language less cautious than seemed necessary to such a period. It was, therefore, advised that no notice should be taken of these communications, and that nothing, in short, might be done which would widen more than absolutely necessary the sphere of debate.*

A general congregation was assembled on the 24th of February. At this meeting, the decrees considered in several private congregations were proposed to the council; but the Cardinal Pachéco, ever ready to support his order, objected to the title given to the bishops

* Fleury, t. VIII., art. vii., liv. cxliv., n. 1.

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as delegates of Rome. They were not representatives of the Pope, he said, but independent prelates, and as such had full right to act according to their free unbiassed judgment. Del Monte appeased the rising storm by timely exhortations; and the following day a letter was read, in which the Cardinal Farnese stated, that the Pope had decreed that cardinals who held bishoprics should reside in their dioceses, and that those who possessed more than one should forthwith resign all but that over which they could exercise personal superintendence. A long discussion followed on the general subject of pluralities. Many of the fathers proposed that dispensations should be entirely annulled. But this was supposed to interfere with the authority of the Pope; and the question being pressed, whether such dispensations were not forbidden by divine law, the legates and the Italian bishops loudly declared their dislike to any such inquiries, founded, as they were, on obvious opposition to the power of the holy see.

So great was the apprehension entertained of the danger attending this part of the council's proceedings, that the legates were instructed, by a bull from Rome, to refer to the Pope himself whatever concerned the subject of reformation. No sooner was intimation given of this measure, than such of the fathers as were anxious to preserve the independence of the assembly, properly complained that if the council were not allowed to pursue its course uninterrupted, it could lay no claim to freedom and authority, but must speedily encounter the contempt of all thinking men. This was so strongly urged that the legates were convinced any attempt to obtain submission to the bull would be vain. They accordingly acquainted the Pope with the state of affairs, and entreated him not to adopt a measure fraught with so many dangers. It was possible, they added, to leave in his hands the right of dispensing with the residence of cardinals; and, as a means of obviating some of the evils which attended the discussion of these subjects in the council, they advised him to publish, at Rome, a bull, under the title of "Reformation of the Court."

The endeavours of the cardinal-legates to silence the

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murmurs of those who dissented from their views were, on this occasion, far from successful. Pachéco headed a party which could not any longer be pacified by their exhortations or amused by their arts. The resolution, therefore, was taken to address them in writing. Discussion had ceased to be of any avail; and in the memoir directed to the legates it was demanded, in the plainest language which could be used, that dispensations should be abolished as scandalous to the Church, and that neither monks nor cardinals should be allowed any greater privileges in these respects than others.

This proceeding created the most lively alarm in the minds of the legates. Their frequent messages were calculated to communicate the same feeling to the Pope. There were bishops at Trent, said the writers, who became every day more turbulent; who spoke of cardinals without any respect, and even intimated that they ought to be subjected to reform; who did not always spare the Pope himself, but openly declared that he gave promises which were never fulfilled, and held the council for no other purpose than that of amusing the public with expectations which he had no intention to realize.

The ministers of the Vatican saw to the full extent the difficulty of their position. It was almost equally dangerous to resist or to concede. Their answer to the legates was accordingly of the same temporizing character as earlier communications. They instructed them to offer terms to the opposition party, and at the same time to leave nothing undone which might secure the vigilant attention of their friends to the general affairs of the council. Cardinal Cervin, more timid than his colleagues, immediately advised the adoption of measures which seemed best to accord with the least haughty interpretation of the Pontiff's wishes. But Del Monte insisted, that any concession in the present temper of the council would only provoke a still more obstinate hostility to the interests of Rome, and that their only chance of safety consisted now in a bold, unyielding resolution to oppose any further aggression on the immunities of the hierarchy.

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After several meetings of the congregation, the new decree on reformation was proposed to a general assembly of the fathers. Some hope had been entertained that the caution employed in the wording of the instrument might overcome the prejudices of many of those whose resistance had been dreaded. But no sooner was the sentence pronounced which excepted in all things the authority of the Pope, than murmurs arose on all sides, and the Spanish bishops loudly insisted that this clause should be removed. It was, they said, to nullify altogether the force of the decree, if the Pope retained the power of making what exceptions he pleased. However reasonable this observation must have appeared to the assembly at large, the number of the Italian bishops, over whom the legates exercised unlimited control, was sufficiently great to enable them to carry their point. The language of the decree was retained in its most objectionable features; and at the opening of the seventh session, on the 3d of March, the canons were proposed as exhibiting the final opinion of the council.*

In the preface to this decree the reasons were stated which had induced the fathers to treat of the sacraments in the order adopted. The doctrine of justification, it was said, had been settled in the preceding session; but the sacraments of the Church were the channels whereby righteousness was conveyed, whether in the beginning of the work of salvation, or in its intermediate stages, when strength required renewal, or in those seasons when sin, having invaded the soul, the process of sanctification had again to be commenced.

The anathemas which followed this introduction were directed against those who deny that there are seven sacraments, or that they are different, except in form, from those instituted under the law; or who assert that they are equal in importance, or may be dispensed with if there be a justifying belief in the heart; and that, consequently, they are only profitable as the nourishment of faith. Similar anathemas were pronounced upon those who deny that they contain in themselves the grace of which they are the signs, or that they confer it

* Paolo Sarpi, t. II., liv. ii. Pallavicini Hist. Conc. Trident. Fleury.

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upon those who do not oppose any obstacle to their influence, as if they were mere external signs of the grace received by faith. In the same manner, they are declared cursed who do not believe that God always gives grace by the sacraments, or deny that they confer it by their own peculiar virtue and force. No less guilty, according to the decree, are they who suppose that baptism, confirmation and holy orders do not impress a character, a certain spiritual and indelible mark which renders it impossible that these sacraments, as they are termed, should be received a second time. Under the next head, anathemas are pronounced against those who pretend that any believer may lawfully preach the word of God, and administer the sacraments; or who affirm, that it is not necessary that the minister should have the intention of doing that which the Church intends in the sacraments; and that, if he be in a state of mortal sin, he does not confer the sacrament, although he administer it according to the proper and established form. In the same manner they are pronounced accursed who say, that the ceremonies employed in the administration of the sacraments may be changed, or omitted, according to the will of the minister.

In illustration of the doctrine of baptism, it was said, that they ought to be condemned who affirm, that the baptism of John was as efficacious as that of Christ: that water is not absolutely necessary to the administration of this sacrament: that the Roman Church, which is the mother and mistress of all the Churches, holds not the true doctrine of baptism: that baptism given by heretics, in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, with the intention of doing that which the Church does, is not a true baptism;* that

* On this subject it was remarked, that, in conformity with the doctrine of the schools, as received by the Council of Florence, baptism, to be valid, required attention to three things; that is, to the matter, the form, and the intention. Thus water is the matter; in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, is the form: and the intention is that of doing what the Church does. Hence it is established, as an incontestible truth, that heretics who agree with Catholics in those three things have a proper baptism: that this ought to be regarded as an apostolic tradition, since it was established in the pontificate of Stephen I., at the beginning of the third century, and was confirmed by the Church in after days. It was, however,

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baptism is not necessary to salvation, and may be received, or not: that a baptized person cannot lose grace, unless he desire to deny the faith; that those who are baptized become bound to faith only, and not to the whole law of Christ: that they are not obliged to observe the commandments of the Church: that the vows of baptism render all other vows, subsequently taken, null and void: that sins committed after baptism are remitted, or are rendered venial, by the recollection of baptism, and of the faith received thereby: that baptism ought to be given again to those who have fallen from faith: that no one should receive baptism before the age at which Christ received it, except in the moment of death: that infants baptized ought not to be ranked in the number of the faithful, since they are not in a state to perform acts of faith; that they ought to be rebaptized when arrived at years of maturity, and that it would be better not to baptize infants at all; that those who have been baptized in their childhood ought, when grown up, to be questioned as to whether they desire to ratify the promises made for them by their parents; and that, if they should be unwilling to do so, they ought to be left at liberty, and not be constrained to live as Christians, no other punishment being imposed upon them but that which consists in the privation of the other sacraments.

The anathemas thus pronounced had reference to the numerous errors which had arisen on the subject of baptism. It was with but few of these that the worst of their enemies could charge the Lutherans, or Zuinglians. But their origin was ascribed to the common influence of the Reformation; and while the more fanatical of the anabaptists were really guilty of broaching opinions warranted neither by reason nor scripture, the reformers themselves could scarcely employ an expression on the subject which was not readily interpreted in a sense little favourable to orthodoxy.*

shewn, in answer to this, that the opinion of Stephen was not so certainly known, and that the Council of Nice, while they forbad the Cathari to be rebaptized, ordered it in the case of Paulicians and Montanists.—Paolo Sarpi, t. I., liv. ii., p. 444.

* Pallavicino accuses Fra Paolo of incorrectness in almost all his reports; but Fleury generally agrees with him; and it is most conformable with our

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Confirmation had also its accompanying anathemas. These were directed, first, against those who say that it is not a true sacrament, but a vain and superfluous ceremony; secondly, against such as affirm that, in attributing virtue to the chrism, dishonour is done to the Holy Spirit: and, thirdly, against those who suppose that simple priests may ordinarily administer confirmation as well as bishops.

The decree of reformation comprehended the several articles alluded to in the course of the late discussions. Bishops, according to the law thus passed, were henceforth to be men of pure character and enlightened minds; and to be confined to the possession of one diocese. The other clergy were also restricted to the enjoyment of such benefices as they might be able to serve by their own personal care; and, for the future, whosoever should venture to accept several livings, or endeavour to elude the law by means of a union, or commendams, should be deprived of whatever he might hold. The clergy of cathedrals were to be visited by the ordinaries, who had the right given them of appointing vicars as might seem necessary according to the circumstances of the chapter.

With the passing of this decree ended the labours of the seventh session. Another was to be held on the 21st of April, and the intermediate congregations had already begun their sittings, when the report became general that a contagious disorder had shewn itself in Trent, and rendered measures of precaution immediately necessary. The physician of the Cardinal

notions of the honesty of any assembly to suppose that its members would utter many sentiments in the course of discussion not all framed to the same measure. His concluding remark on Sarpi's supposed want of reverence for the sacraments is in the true spirit of bitter controversy. Having observed that the sacraments are not mere signs of grace, he says, "Whereas St. Paul calls all the ceremonies of the law but elements and shadows, we are on the contrary taught that man is re-born in baptism; that sins that are remitted by the priest are remitted in heaven; that life is conferred on him who eats the flesh and drinks the blood of Christ; and that by imposition of hands the Holy Spirit is conferred. Whence the Christian sacraments are not sterile signs, but efficacious causes, pregnant with promised sanctity. But I will not deny that Sarpi has a good excuse for the mode in which he speaks, and for the difficulty he finds in believing the virtue of the Christian sacraments. It is this: he has repeatedly received them himself, but never found any comfort in doing so, or obtained the holiness they are calculated impart."—Hist. Conc. Trident., lib. IX., c. iv., n. 10.

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del Monte, and the physician of the council, both agreed in declaring the dangerous character of the malady. In a congregation held on the 9th of March, the legates formally proposed the translation of the council to some other city. Cardinal Pachéco replied, that he could not consent to such a measure till time had been given to learn the sentiments of the Pope and the Emperor. The Spanish bishops generally supported this opinion, but the party of Del Monte was too powerful to be effectually resisted; and in a case like the present, there can be little doubt but that the natural fears of many of the fathers would operate as a powerful argument in favour of the view which it was the interest of the legates to adopt. When the power of removing the council was broadly asserted, Pachéco declared that such a measure would rouse the indignation of the whole of Christendom, and that the pretext, by which it was justified, deserved so little consideration, that one of the clergymen of the city had told him, that though his parish was full of poor, he had not buried above two persons during the last two months.

But arguments were employed in vain. The eighth session was held on the 11th of March; and the decree of translation to Bologna having been read, Pachéco was obliged to content himself with observing again, that there was no just cause for the removal of the council, and that if there were, it ought to have been to some city of Germany. No liberty, it was remarked by the bishop of Astorga, could be looked for in Bologna; and fifteen of the prelates insisted to the last, with Pachéco, that the legates had no power to take a step of such importance on the grounds suggested. This ended the debate. The votes were taken, and two-thirds were found to have been given in favour of the translation.*

* The following is a part of the explanation given by Del Monte respecting the translation of the council:—

Et quia multi rogaverunt nos, ut vellemus super hac re aliquod lumen eis præbere, cum quo possent in hac repentina necessitate dirigere sententias suas: repetentes illud, quod antea sæpe dictum fuerat a nobis, scilicet omnem nostram curam et solicitudinem ad id tendere, ut concilium conservetur et suum possit habere progressum, subjunximus, nos satis et undequaque probare

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non posse suspensionem, cum suspensio ipsa habitura esset speciem dissolutionis, saltem quoad hominum opinionem.

Primum et præcipuum, quod sese in tota hac ratione sive discursu offerret nobis, esse ut, postquam tot patres perseverabant in suo discedendi proposito, et nullis persuasionibus adduci poterant ut per brevissimum saltem temporis spatium nobiscum remanere vellent, et erant in tanto numero, ut longe majorem partem concilii facerent, designaremus locum, in quo certi essemus concilium ipsum, constitui posse, et patres omnes sine aliqua contradictione seu difficultate ibidem esse recipiendos.

Secundum, quod locus ipse esset huic civitati propinquus quantum fieri posset, non solum pro majori commoditate illuc accedendi, sed etiam pro majori facilitate redeundi ad hanc urbem, si quando, cessantibus per Dei gratiam impedimentis, quæ nunc vigent, videretur sanctissimo domino nostro pro rebus Germaniæ, concilium esse in hac civitate reducendum et reponendum.

Tertium, quod locus ipse esset capax, haberet salubritatem aeris, copiam rerum quæ sunt humano usui et victui necessaria et alia requisita; et ut uno nos absolveremus verbo, solam Bononiam a pluribus nominatam, videri nobis his omnibus intentionibus accommodatam, non dubitare nos quin ibi recipiamur cum magna illorum civium gratulatione et veneratione erga singulos patres. De illius civitatis dotibus disserere supervacuum esse, cum paucis civitatibus Italiæ posthaberi possit, viderique nobis hac via satisfieri illorum opinioni, qui volebant patres non abesse ultra tres dietas, cum non illo longiori itinere distet Bononia. Itemque sanctissimi domini nostri deliberationem expectari, non dissolvi concilium, non generari scandalum in populo Christiano, non omitti celebrationem sessionis jam indictæ, sed reservari deliberationem sanctitati suæ, pro subsequenti tempore, vel in eodem loco, vel in alio, vel etiam in hac ipsa civitate Tridentina. Denique, si concilium conservetur et manuteneatur omnia bona sperare nos posse; si dissolvatur, omnia mala; quod recedant qui velint, et eant quocumque velint; et remaneant qui voluerint remanere, nullo modo nos probare posse.

His a nobis expositis, patres omnes dixerunt sententias suas, et pro longe majori parte conformes fuerunt, ut concilium ipsum Bononiam transferatur.

Quibus auditis, diximus pro rei gravitate, et pro majori firmitate eorum quæ decernenda essent, dignum et æquum esse ut omnis nostris in hac re deliberatio ab invocatione divini Numinis initium sumeret, et propterea alta voce monuimus omnes ut hoc ipso die et hac hora, ad hanc Ecclesiam cum paramentis consuetis convenirent, facturi eam deliberationem, quam Spiritus Sanctus mentibus patrum inspiraret.

De his omnibus estis vos patres coram Deo et hominibus locupletissimi testes, audietis etiam nunc ea quæ proferet dominus promotor concilii in hac materia.

Et statim ipse promotor dixit; reverendissimi et illustrissimi domini et amplissimi patres, cum audissem in congregationibus proxime factis, aliquos patres desiderare fieri aliquam investigationem super hac infectione et suspicione, examinavi tam ex officio, quam ex commissione et mandato reverendissimorum et illustrissimorum dominorum legatorum nonnullos testes super quibusdam articulis, quos peto recipi et admitti, &c. Et reverendissmus et illustrissimus cardinalis De Monte præsidens et legatus præfatus dixit: Placet quod legantur, et omnes patres responderunt, legantur; et statim articuli ipsi cum depositionibus lecti fuerunt per notarium coram omnibus, alta et intelligibili voce, quorum et quarum tenor sequitur, et est talis.

Promotor sive procurator sacri concilii Tridentini salvis, &c. ponit et dicit.

1. Quod a mense citra et supra per multos dies in civitate Tridentina invaluit morbus lenticularum, sive ponticularis appellatus.

2. Quod morbus hujusmodi pestilens est, et ex eo plures moriuntur.

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3. Quod morbus hujusmodi est contagiosus et ex uno in alium facile transfunditur.

4. Quod a mense citra plures et plures mortui sunt in civitate prædicta hujusmodi morbo laborantes, et inter ceteros episcopus caput, Aquensis, Generalis observantiæ, et canonicus Balduinus, et alii complures.

5. Quod laborantes ex hujusmodi morbo, ut plurimum moriuntur; qui autem supervivunt, ut plurimum manci aut debiles remanent aut stolidi.

6. Quod in proximis et vicinis agris et villis plures hoc eodem morbo laborant, et morbo hujusmodi pereunt in dies.

7. Quod adveniente calore, solet ut plurimum, morbus hujusmodi crescere et in pestem converti.

8. Quod omnia pene ad victum necessaria veniunt extrinsecus et portantur ab exteris, quoniam in agro Tridentino non nascuntur fruges quæ sufficiant pro tribus mensibus.

9. Quod si aliquis forte peste hic moreretur, statim banniretur civitas Tridentina a dominio Venetorum et aliis vicinis terris, et propterea non possent amplius conduci necessaria ad victum pro prælatis et concilio.

10. Quod stante peste in civitate Tridentina, non admitterentur aliqui venientes ab illa in propinquis civitatibus.

11. Quod in hac parva admodum civitate sunt de præsenti quadraginta et ultra, hoc morbo laborantes.

12. Quod medici Tridentinæ civitatis sæpius requisiti visitare infirmos, hoc facere recusarunt, et recusant de præsenti.

13. Quod præmissa omnia et singula fuerunt et sunt vera, publica et notoria, &c.

This is followed by the statements elicited in the examination of numerous witnesses, and by the formal declaration of the two physicians. According to these there appears to have been sufficient reason for suspecting that an infectious disease, though not of a very virulent character, was beginning to show itself in Trent.—Le Plat. Monument. t. III., p. 591.

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CHAP. VI.

AFFAIRS OF GERMANY.

BEFORE following the council to its new location, it will be proper to resume the narrative of events in Germany. According to the disposition of parties in that country, it seemed daily more probable, that the controversy between them would only be decided by war. Political considerations were now closely interwoven with those of religion; and while it seemed impossible to persuade the divines, who assembled in the several colloquies, to meet each other in a spirit of peace and charity, it was now become equally so to induce the Emperor and the protestant princes to lay aside the rancorous feelings which had of late existed among them.

A. D. 1546.

The landgrave of Hesse still occupied the highest place among those who seemed most resolved to oppose every attempt made on the religious or political liberties of the German states. In an interview which he had at Spire, in the month of March, with the Emperor's chancellor, he declared openly the reasons that induced him to prepare for a hostile attack. These were formed, he said, on the reports which reached him from all sides respecting the Emperor's adverse dispositions towards the Protestants. Whatever, again, had been stated on this subject, was confirmed by the actual proceedings of the imperialists. The archbishop of Cologne was the victim of a persecution as cruel as it was unjust, and this for no other crime than his desire to promote the reformation of his diocese. Every effort that had been made to secure the fair discussion of the religious claims of the Protestants proved abortive; and their liberal contributions to the wants of the Emperor, in his wars with France and the Sultan, had failed to procure them his favour or indulgence.

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Charles met these, and similar observations, by a direct denial of the allegations on which they were founded. He had neither made preparations for war, nor raised any obstacle to the assembling of such a synod as might be best calculated to establish concord among the different religious parties which existed in the empire. He therefore entreated the landgrave to state the measures by which he thought this desirable object might be the most readily attained; and proposed, if the present moment did not seem fitting for the full expression of his sentiments, to bring him into treaty with his confidential ministers.*

The landgrave replied with many assurances of his good will to the head of the empire, and his desire to cultivate pacific measures. But it was not in his power, he said, to determine what steps were to be taken till he could consult with his associates, the elector of Saxony, and the other protestant leaders. He would, however, so far express his own feelings as to declare, that he knew no method so likely to restore peace, and satisfy honest and pious minds, as giving to every man the power of following his own creed unmolested.

An interview took place the next day between the landgrave and the Emperor's principal advisers. In the course of their conversation, the circumstances which had prevented the colloquy at Ratisbonne from being followed by any useful results were somewhat warmly discussed; and the landgrave insisted that the decree passed at Spire, two years before, was the best calculated of any late public act to satisfy the Protestants that they were not to be made the victims of injustice and persecution. Granvelle replied, that the decree alluded to had been accommodated to the moment, but was not binding on the Emperor, who had always opposed it. At present, added the statesman, nothing is to be heard but disputes respecting faith, and every part of Christendom is filled with the strife of sects and parties. Theologians are a capricious, passionate, and obstinate set of men, and it is not easy to terminate any quarrel to which they have given rise.

* Sleidan, t. II., liv. xvii., p. 298.

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We must bring princes and nobles among them if the means of tranquillity are to be discovered and adopted. But you Protestants do not yourselves allow liberty of opinion: you imprison and fine those who dissent from the creed of the more powerful, and have therefore no more claim to the practice of liberality than the Catholics or their leaders.

The landgrave observed, that it might be imprudent in him to continue a discussion of this kind; but that he could not resist the wish to impress on the minds of his hearers how much importance was attached to the decree of Spire. There is, he added, no real obstacle to a national council. We all profess the same faith, and adhere to the creed of the apostles, and to those of Nice, and St. Athanasius. It is true, some difference has prevailed respecting the Lord's Supper, but even that is almost set at rest. The anabaptists and other fanatics that have arisen among us are punished; nor should we fail speedily to restore concord, if it were but allowed the clergy to preach the gospel freely, to administer the communion in its primitive form, and, if they chose, to enter into marriage.

Referring to what Granvelle had said respecting the penalties inflicted by Protestants on those who opposed them, "I know not any place," he said, "in which men have been forced to embrace our religion. We do not suffer them, indeed, to teach a different or opposite doctrine, but we do violence to no one; we put no one to death; we spoil no one of his goods. If, moreover, you will give our people the power of following their religion in your states; if you will allow them separate churches, and whatever else may be necessary to their security, I will, speaking for myself alone, readily accord the same liberty to the members of your community. But this is not likely to be done. Let the decree of Spire be observed; let us have a national council. This is the only means left for the restoration of peace."

Granvelle replied, that no one had a greater regard for religion than the Emperor; nor would he be influenced by the Pope to do any thing contrary to equity. He had, indeed, greatly irritated the Pontiff by the support ac-

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corded to the decree of Spire, and the same hostility was entertained towards his advisers. "I know not," added the minister, "who could be appointed judge in a national council, for scripture is variously interpreted. The colloquies have produced no important results; some points have been settled, but many still present insuperable difficulties to a general arrangement."

The landgrave expressed himself as thankful for the intelligence, that Charles was not so devoted to the interests of Rome as to be willing to sacrifice the liberties of Germany to the demands of the dominant Church. Formerly, said he, the bishops of Rome respected the Emperor as their sovereign, but now the Emperor is bound to them by an oath. In every controversy the Word of God ought to be appealed to. It presents no difficulties except when the mind is itself unwilling to acknowledge its authority.

Many other observations of a similar character were made in this interesting meeting; and whatever might be the language employed, the personages concerned could scarcely fail to find themselves more deeply convinced than ever, that each had many suggestions to offer which, if taken in the spirit of charity, must tend greatly to set aside most of the arguments advanced on the part of furious polemics or interested politicians. The Emperor, it is said, expressed himself satisfied with the feeling manifested by the landgrave, and requested him, in the most earnest manner, to return to Ratisbonne, and to bear part in the diet about to re-assemble. This the landgrave would not promise to do, but immediately acquainted the elector of Saxony with what had occurred, and left his colleagues to determine the measures which ought thence to be adopted.

It was in vain that the Emperor endeavoured to persuade the protestant princes generally to take their place in the colloquy at Ratisbonne. Few only attended his call, and he found himself, and his brother Ferdinand, unable, by their united influence, to re-awaken the confidence of the assembly. But a circumstance happened about this time which served in no slight degree to irritate the minds of the reformers, and to furnish a topic of

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loud complaint in every place where two or three of them could meet together.*

John Diaz, a young Spaniard of considerable learning and ability, had during his studies in Paris become a convert to the opinions of the reformers. Having visited Geneva, he was confirmed in his new sentiments by the instructions of Calvin. Through him he became acquainted with Bucer, and accompanied that eminent man, as his secretary, to the colloquy at Ratisbonne. Peter Malvenda, who occupied there the important situation of chief theologian among the Catholics, had been known to Diaz at Paris; and the latter, immediately on his arrival, visited him as an old acquaintance. Instead, however, of finding himself greeted with kindness, he was overwhelmed with reproaches for his adherence to the Protestants. "The conversion of one Spaniard," said Malvenda, "is more to them than that of a thousand Germans. Return then to your duty, and do not continue thus to dishonour your name, your family, and your country." Juan replied with many apologetic remarks on the nature of his new faith, and protested that neither he nor his associates deserved the reproaches they had received.

In another interview, Malvenda strongly advised his countryman to hasten to the Emperor, and implore his forgiveness. But Diaz again assured him that, instead of feeling conscious of crime or error, he was only anxious to make the most public profession of his new faith, and that it was for that purpose he had visited Ratisbonne. "If this be your object," rejoined Malvenda, "you are wasting time by waiting here. Nothing of importance will take place. Hasten then to Trent, and at once proclaim your heresy before the fathers of the Church."

Malvenda considered Diaz of sufficient consequence to make him the subject of a letter to one of the Emperor's ministers. By this officer the affair was communicated to a gentleman lately arrived from Rome, and who, on his return to that city, hastened with the intelligence to Alphonso Diaz, the brother of Juan, and

* Sleidan, t. II., liv. xvii., p. 293.

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a civilian of some eminence. Fierce by nature, and animated by the worst passions that bigotry can inspire,* he listened with indignation to the story of his brother's conversion. No sooner had the bearer of the news left his room than he ordered out his horses, and was instantly on the road which led to Ratisbonne. His brother had left that place for Neuburg, where he was employed in correcting some proof sheets of a work about to be published by Bucer.

The interview of the brothers was as painful as it was useless. Arguments and promises of great worldly advantages were employed in vain by the elder Diaz. They accordingly separated; but after a few days met again, when Alphonso stated, that he had carefully considered the arguments urged in favour of the reformers, and now felt obliged to acknowledge that they deserved a more serious attention than he had hitherto bestowed upon them. His brother received this confession with delight and gratitude. He pressed the advantage which it seemed he had gained; and had soon the inexpressible satisfaction to hear Alphonso declare that he was a convert to Protestantism, and willing to take part in any measure which might favour its interests. "But it is not in Germany," said he, "that either you or I can do most good. There are here already many pious and enlightened men. Let us hasten to Trent, where you will find those who are ready to sympathize with you, and thence to Rome and Naples. By taking this course, you may effect many conversions, and at length carry the doctrines of the Reformation into the heart of Spain."

No time was lost by the younger brother in making Bucer and his other friends acquainted with what had occurred, and with the proposals of Alphonso. But they knew enough of the state of affairs in Italy to see that their associate could not venture upon the intended journey without extreme danger. They therefore has-

* Maimbourg, in speaking of the occurrence, describes the offence as falso religionis zelo patratum: but adds no observation upon the horrible nature of the offence, or the disgraceful negligence manifested in the pursuit of the culprits. Diaz is said to have been distinguished for learning and eloquence. His skill in argumentation was equally remarkable.—Seckendorf, Comm. Luth., lib. III., sec. xxxvii., p. 652.

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tened to dissuade him from the attempt; and their persuasions were accompanied with arguments sufficiently cogent to convince him that it was his duty, as well as his interest, not to leave Germany till things wore a different aspect. Alphonso, on hearing his resolution, saw that it would be useless to urge him any further. Bucer himself had visited Neuburg, and employed his influence in preventing his friend from leaving that place under circumstances which he judged to be in no slight degree suspicious. Alphonso, on bidding his brother farewell, spoke with apparent affection and thankfulness for the light which he had received in their several meetings. He exhorted him to persevere in his fervent devotion to the gospel; begged him to write frequently; and then endeavoured to press on his acceptance fourteen crowns of gold. Many tears were shed on both sides, and the parting seemed to confirm the sentiments of mutual esteem with which they had observed each other's eagerness in the cause of religion.

Alphonso repaired to Augsburg, but having remained there a single day, he secretly returned to Neuburg. On the way thither he purchased an axe of a carpenter, and leaving his horses at the gate of the town, hastened, before the day had scarcely dawned, to his brother's residence. A servant followed his steps, and to him he communicated the purpose of this secret visit. Nothing terrified at the demand made upon his savage fidelity, the domestic took the axe in his hand, and making his way to the apartment of the intended victim, roused him by the announcement that he had brought a letter from his brother. The unfortunate Diaz had scarcely opened the packet, when the murderer dashed out his brains, leaving him not an instant for a word or a sigh. No one was supposed to be awake or within hearing, and the assassin returned to his master who immediately fled with him to Augsburg.

Notwithstanding the caution which had been employed in this horrible transaction, it was not perpetrated without a witness. A young Savoyard gentleman*

* This was Claudius Senarcle, an accomplished young man, and greatly attached to Diaz. He afterwards wrote an account of his life, and states

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occupied an apartment next to that of Diaz; and a slight noise made by the murderer's spurs, as he descended the stairs, having roused him from sleep, he was alarmed at the circumstance, and hastening into the adjoining chamber, beheld his companion stretched upon the floor. The alarm was immediately given, and some persons of consequence in the town took horse and pursued the fugitives. One of the gentlemen, more resolute than the rest, did not cease from the pursuit till he had reached Inspruck, at the gates of which city he had just time to give information of what had occurred before the murderers arrived. They accordingly no sooner entered the town than they were apprehended and lodged in prison.

It is almost impossible to conceive how, in a civilized country, a crime of this kind could remain unpunished, when clearly proved against the perpetrators. But the magistrates of Inspruck, after allowing the prisoners every means of delaying the progress of justice, informed the prosecutors that letters had been received from the Emperor, in which it was stated that the affair would be brought before the diet. A demand was then made that the prisoners might be sent back well guarded to Neuburg. But this was also refused, and the horror with which the crime had been contemplated began now to be mingled with indignation that it should be so long left unpunished.

On the 2d of June, Charles received a deputation of the Protestants appointed to watch the progress of this transaction. He answered their inquiries by repeating his former assurance, that he and his brother would inquire into the affair. The appeal was subsequently made to Ferdinand, and similar promises with similar delays were the only result. Other events of a more general character soon occupied the attention of the Protestants, and the perpetrators of a deed as black as

that Diaz had spent a great part of the day, and also of the night, preceding his murder, in earnest prayer, and in exhorting him to love God and devote himself to his service. It is also recorded as a remarkable fact, that, as if from some presage of his death, he made his will at Ratisbonne before going to Neuburg.—Seckendorf, lib. III., sec, xxxvii., p. 653. Sleidan, t. II., c. xvi. p. 296.

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any that ever disgraced the annals of humanity remained unpunished.*

The departure of the protestant theologians from Ratisbonne was viewed by Charles as a proof of their disaffection. This feeling was not diminished at his finding that none of the princes who supported them appeared to meet him in person. At the opening of the diet, he spoke of the state of affairs in general, and entreated the princes to supply the means which might be necessary on the termination of the truce with Turkey. The Protestants, in return, implored him to promote the union of all parties in the empire by a tolerant and humane policy. But these mutual exhortations to amity were little encouraged by the aspect of affairs without. Reports grew louder every day that the preparations for war were just complete, and that the Emperor was ready to assail, with a vast body of forces, the territories of the protestant princes. The landgrave was the first to take alarm, and he lost no time in warning his associates to keep themselves in readiness for the expected attack. Charles, when spoken to on the subject, denied that he had any hostile intentions, but defended his employing measures of precaution, as rendered necessary by the machinations of the many restless and turbulent spirits that were now agitating the country. It was with arguments like this that he addressed the senate of Strasbourg and other cities of the protestant league; but the citizens of these places were too well acquainted with the real situation of affairs to be led by assurances so frequently proved worthless, and only calculated to turn them from a course of action which now seemed necessary to secure their independence.

In a few weeks, the veil was cast aside, and the real intentions of the Emperor were clearly understood. War exhibited itself in its most distressing forms; and a noble country, with its great and admirable people, was

* Seckendorf, Comm. de Luth., lib. III., sec. xxxvii., p. 657. Elisa autem est omnis illa justissima Protestantium, atque imprimis Ottonis Henrici Palatini, in cujus urba patratum erat flagitium, instantia; et quantum ex actis percipere potui, ultimum Cæsaris effugium fuit, sibi nullum jus esse Ferdinando fratri, in cujus urbe Œniponti detinebantur sicarii, leges dandi: neque tamen invenio, quid Ferdinandus opposuerit.

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about to be ravaged by a thousand ills, the offspring of religious intolerance and bigotry. The Protestants were not slow in collecting forces. But another effort at conciliation was to be made before casting the die. The elector of Saxony and the landgrave addressed the Emperor on the 4th of July, and, reminding him of the readiness which they had always manifested to bear their full share of the public burdens, desired him to state distinctly on what grounds he intended to justify the proposed attack. "When we shall have learnt," said they, "the cause of your hostility, it will be easy for us to show that you are acting unjustly, and that you have no other motives for undertaking this war but such as are suggested by the Roman Antichrist, the impious Council of Trent, and a general wish to oppress the gospel."

The princes then issued a public declaration of their sentiments, and of the circumstances under which they were now placed. They referred to numerous proofs of their own sincere desire to promote peace, and of the fact so often stated, that the present hostilities were undertaken by their enemies for no other object than that of oppressing religion. This statement was followed by an earnest appeal to the other princes of the empire. "We trust," said they, "that you will pity the situation into which we are thrown, and not take part with our enemies, who, after they have extinguished the light of the gospel among us, will leave nothing undone to reduce the country to a state of servitude. The Roman Antichrist is among them. His creatures lead on the war; and, if they prove successful, their impious doctrine, polluted as it is by murders, with which they will soon fill Germany, is destined to recover its supremacy."

It is not necessary to our purpose that we should trace particularly the fatal occurrences which followed this commencement of hostilities. We need only speak of the results as they affected the state of the several parties and the interests of the gospel. The elector of Saxony and the landgrave led their united forces through Franconia; and Charles, in the meantime, having assembled some part of his troops at Ratisbonne, formally

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placed these two princes under the ban of the empire. By the decree published against them they were declared guilty of rebellion and high treason, and were proscribed as perfidious criminals, violators of the public peace, and deserving of condign punishment. "I, therefore," said the Emperor, "forbid any one from granting them succours or joining their party, and will punish with death, and the confiscation of goods, whoever shall venture to violate this decree. I also desire those who may have become associated with them immediately to return to their allegiance, and I hereby claim such aid as this war renders necessary, and that, notwithstanding any alliances or private conventions, which I now dissolve. I also set free from their oaths the nobility and other subjects of these princes, and take them under the protection of the empire, if they will obey me; but if they resist, I declare them amenable to the same judgment as their princes.*

No sooner was this document published than the Emperor sent an official copy of the ban to Maurice duke of Saxony. That prince had spent a considerable time in private interviews with Charles at Ratisbonne. The purport of their discourse was now supposed to be perfectly understood. Maurice was invited to employ his influence, and whatever forces he could command, in executing the decree of the Emperor. He was the relative of the elector of Saxony, and to him, therefore, properly belonged the forfeited dominions, and the right of entering upon immediate possession.

A communication was sent, in the month of August, from the combined princes to the imperial camp at Landshut. By this they complied with the ordinary forms in declaring war. But the gentleman who presented it to the Emperor was abruptly ordered to carry it back unopened, and with the threat, that if he or any one else should again venture to be the bearer of messages from the rebels, he should be hung up in the presence of the whole army.

The landgrave, with his characteristic energy, was eager to attack the enemy on the first favourable oppor-

* Sleidan, t. II., liv. xvii., p. 343.

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tunity. This presented itself as the armies lay encamped near each other in the neighbourhood of Ingoldstadt. But the elector, and many of his officers, considered that it would be unwise to risk all in a single battle. The occasion was therefore allowed to escape; and the future want of success has commonly been attributed to the indecision and little unanimity which prevailed in the early counsels of the protestant camp.*

It was not till these operations had taken place that the elector and his confederate were made acquainted with the ban published against them. They could not allow the accusations which it involved to pass uncontradicted. "What can be more unjust," said they, "than to accuse us of rebellion?" "Does not the Emperor know," demanded the landgrave, "that he has repeatedly thanked me, since the diet of Spire, for having done every thing in my power to quiet the disputes of religion?" "He meditates," concluded the allies, "the destruction of religion and liberty, and thus furnishes us with a sufficient reason for resisting his attacks. History, both sacred and profane, gives proof of this. Violence, unjustly exercised, cannot have God for its author, and it is impossible that we should remain subject to an emperor who violates the fundamental conditions on which he was raised to the dignity. He acknowledges that he has entered into private treaties with us. Why, then, does he make war on points where good faith only ought to be the arbitrator?" Again, "he reproaches us with giving birth to conspiracies and conventicles. But what can be more false? Are we not of pure German blood? Are we not, therefore, born enemies to cunning and deceit? The alliances which we have made have had no other object than the defence of our rights against unjust attacks, and by none can we be accused of having provoked this persecution through inflicting injuries on others." *

The armies were again in sight of each other near Nordlingen, and some skirmishes took place, which would lead, it was expected, to a general engagement. But the Emperor unexpectedly drew off his troops, and

* Sleidan, t. II., liv. xviii., p. 357. † Ib., p. 367.

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took the road to Donavert. The prospects of the allies were not improved by this movement; and things were daily becoming worse, when news arrived which plainly shewed that peace alone could save them from the impending ruin. An effort was accordingly made to open negotiations with the Emperor; but their condition was too well known to allow of their obtaining terms that could be accepted without dishonour. They were therefore obliged to adopt the only alternative which now presented itself, and prepare for conducting what portion of the army might be depended upon back to their own states.

Events had taken place in Saxony that fully justified this proceeding. Maurice was using every means to consolidate his power in the territory of the electorate. The approach of Ferdinand with his army furnished him with a plausible pretence for assuming sovereign authority; and he justified himself in a letter to the landgrave, whose daughter he had married, by declaring that he had only taken this step to save the country from pillage. But the landgrave refused to acknowledge the truth of this assertion, and entreated him by the duty which he owed to religion, and by the gratitude* which the elector might so fairly claim at his hands, not to continue a course equally injurious and dishonourable.

The unfortunate elector himself called upon his associates to assist him in this hour of danger, and reminded them that he had never refused to make any sacrifice which might be for the common interest. He received an assurance of their faithful attachment, but at the same time was exhorted not to leave the army till the Emperor had gone into winter quarters. Letters reached him about the same time from Maurice, and that prince still spoke as if he had been constrained by circumstances to seize upon his territory. There was as much of insult as of hypocrisy in this effort to apologize for the most cruel injury that could be inflicted upon an unfortunate prince. The elector, though

* Maurice owed every thing which he possessed to the fatherly kindness of the elector.—Sleidan, t. II., liv. xviii., p. 379.

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supported by the most pure and Christian sentiments, was not insensible to the greatness of the injury which he had to suffer, and that from those to whom he might reasonably have looked for sympathy and aid in the hour of misfortune.

Many, indeed, as are the examples in the history of the Church of Christ, of pain and affliction encountered solely through devotion to the gospel, there are but few which deserve more attentive consideration than that of the elector of Saxony. That he endeavoured to resist the unjust aggressions made upon him, as a sovereign, ought not to lessen the admiration due to his virtues. While the habits of his mind were naturally based upon the maxims common to high political stations, it is also a question upon which much argument might be employed, whether it was not as much his duty as a man and a Christian, as it was plainly his duty as a prince, to defend his people from the bold assumptions of an elective emperor, endeavouring, at the signal of the bishop of Rome, to deprive them of the light of the gospel freely and truly preached. But in himself, in his own private feelings, he was making a sacrifice to the dictates of conscience as expensive as could be offered. The slightest degree of temporizing, the casting of but a single grain of incense on the altar, would have satisfied his bitterest opponents, and left him in the peaceful enjoyment of his hereditary honours and his domestic happiness. But he refused to yield in the simplest circumstance to the claims of expediency. It was evident that his rank, his private comfort, his life, might probably be demanded by the necessity that he had imposed upon himself as a faithful disciple of Jesus Christ. He knew the cost of abiding by his promises to the Church; and at the moment when the demand was being made, he never shrunk from the payment, though he could reproach, like a wise and clear-sighted man, the baseness of those by whom it was enacted. He was, indeed, one of the true confessors of this interesting period; and those who would study rightly the history of the Church of Christ, must consider well, that, while confessors occupy, in

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name, the rank next to martyrs, they are animated by the same spirit, and only placed lower, because the weakness of the human heart is more shaken by the contemplation of a single hour of agony heroically borne, than by that of many years of suffering which it imagines, however falsely, it might bear without breaking.

Having made the best of his way to the frontiers of Saxony, the elector addressed a letter to the states,* and appealed to Maurice by all the considerations which might be likely to affect a man of honour, and not without pretensions to piety. "Our relationship," said he, "and the league formed between us by a common faith, had led me to suppose that nothing could have occurred like that which late events have proved to be possible. Still less did I imagine that you, the ruling orders of the state, would have become the authors and advisers of such a project. Reflect, for a moment, on the nature of the design. Consider the instances which may be adduced of the failure of such enterprises. Duke George proposed to disinherit his brother, and his brother's children, if they did not profess the religion of Rome. By my assistance, and that of my allies, this unjust disposition was set aside, and Henry, his brother, securing the succession, the doctrines of the gospel have ever since continued to be preached." Having reasoned at some length on the false policy of those who had been induced to forsake their original views, he adds: "But that which most deeply affects me is the misery into which my subjects are plunged by these unjust proceedings. A multitude of innocent people are exposed to every species of violence that can be inflicted by a foreign soldiery. The ministers of the Church are driven from their flocks; and nothing is to be seen but wretchedness and despair. God will one day avenge his servants, and exact punishment for all these barbarities." He then speaks of the treachery of Maurice, and shews that he was guilty of the worst crimes that ambition could inspire; concluding his address with a solemn protestation that if, in the endeavour to recover

* Sleidan, t. II., liv. xviii., p. 390. Hortleder, t. II., b. iii., c. 69, pp. 572, 629. Schmidt. Geschichte der Deutchen, b. I.

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his rights, he should inflict any injury on the people, the evil could only justly be laid to the charge of those who had, in the first place, basely violated the restraints of both law and affection."

The siege of Leipsic immediately followed, and hopes were entertained by the elector and his friends that this bold movement would terrify Maurice into submission. But he was too well supported to be so readily overcome. The success of the elector, though startling at first, was not likely to be durable. He had possessed himself of several towns, and the nobles had again taken the oath of fidelity. But scarcely was time allowed him to rejoice in this brightening aspect of affairs, when the Emperor arrived with his forces at Muhlberg, on the Elbe, where the elector had taken up his position, as opening the way to Wittemberg. Maurice, and his brother Augustus, were also at the head of a large body of troops, and the enemies of Germany might have trembled at the array on both sides. As it was, they had only reason to rejoice.

John Frederic soon saw that his safety depended on making good his retreat to Wittemberg. Thither he directed his march; but the Emperor had already crossed the Elbe, and came up with the enemy in the forest of Lochan, about fifteen miles from Muhlberg. The battle was begun with all the resolution which the circumstances of the combatants demanded. It was not till evening set in that the fury of the conflict began to flag. The elector's army had been diminished by the numerous detachments which he was obliged to send to protect the towns that had fallen into his hands. But the smallness of his forces might be counterbalanced, it was hoped, by his own experience and the devotion of his followers. He fought with princely courage, till wounded in the face, and surrounded on all sides by assailants, he was obliged to yield himself prisoner.*

* He was surrounded by Germans, Spaniards and others; but he exclaimed, "I will surrender to none but Germans:" upon which a nobleman, Thilvon Trot, presented himself, and took him prisoner. The Neapolitan knights then led him to Alba. On entering the tent he raised his eyes, streaming with tears, to heaven, and said, "And so it has come to this! Domine, mei miserere!"—Hortleder, t. II., lib. iii., c. 69, p. 573.

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Having been first taken to the Duke of Alba, he was next conducted to the Emperor, on entering whose presence, he said, "I acknowledge myself, most clement Emperor, your prisoner, and pray you to grant me a guard worthy of a prince." "I am then your Emperor:" said Charles sternly, "I shall treat you as you deserve." Ferdinand spoke to him in a yet harsher tone; and the unfortunate elector was made to feel, even from the first, how bitter a cup was prepared for him to drink.*

Charles lost no time in marching to Wittemberg, and three days after his arrival in that city, John Frederic was formally sentenced to lose his head. The announcement of this decision awakened no other emotion in the mind of the sufferer than that which became a man bound to society by so many and such powerful ties. "I did not imagine," he said, "that the Emperor would have acted in this manner, but, if it be a thing determined upon, I should wish at once to be made sure that it is so, that I may arrange some matters which concern my wife and children."

The news of what had taken place was speedily communicated to the neighbouring princes. Consternation everywhere prevailed. However numerous the enemies of John Frederic, as the chief of the reform party, his personal character was marked by too many excellencies to suffer prejudice to extend beyond the reprobation of his religious views. Scarcely any of those, therefore, who rejoiced at his defeat on religious grounds, would have wished to see him brought to the scaffold, or could have contemplated such an event without sorrow, mingled, perhaps, with a feeling of disgust at the tyranny by which it was brought about. The elector of Brandeburg felt more deeply than the rest how greatly the prosecution of such a measure would enrage

* It is mentioned as a remarkable fact, that the day on which the Emperor passed the Elbe, and also that on which the battle was fought, were dark and heavy; the sun being pale and obscure, and indicating, it was thought, not only in Germany, but in other countries, that some sad event was nigh at hand.—Sleidan, t. II., liv. xix., p. 414. John Frederic, it is said, was treated with the consideration which became his rank; but Charles appears to have entertained towards him no slight degree of personal resentment.—Hortleder, t. II., b. iii., c. 69, p. 574, and c. 81, p. 632.

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all right-minded men, whatever their creed or party. Hastening, therefore, to the Emperor, he represented to him the many reasons which existed for his not executing the sentence so hastily passed upon his prisoner. His arguments prevailed, and Charles was induced to propose terms, on which he consented to spare the elector's life.

Of the conditions thus offered, the most important was such as no man jealous of the purity of his faith, and the honour of God, could accept. It was demanded of the captive prince that he should acknowledge the authority of the Council of Trent, and approve whatever it decreed, or what the Emperor himself might determine, respecting religion. John Frederic heard this proposal with equal firmness and indignation. Life would have been dearly purchased at such a price; and the Emperor saw at once, that, if he did not intend to put his sentence in execution, he must cease to press the obnoxious demand. This was done, and other proposals were made to the elector, which, however distressing and humiliating, did not involve any sacrifice of opinion or principle. To give up all right and title to his dominions, and to remain a prisoner for the remainder of his life, these were the only terms on which his conqueror would consent to inflict a punishment less than capital.* They were necessarily accepted; and after

* Sleidan, t. II., liv. xix., p. 417. Hortleder, t. II., b. iii., c. 70, p. 576. The affection of the garrison and inhabitants of Wittemberg was nobly shown in their refusal to surrender the town till the elector had formally freed them from their oath of allegiance. Their cries and weeping when they first heard of his misfortunes were as if he had been their father. The account given by Bugenhagen, in the latter cited author, is full of pathos. "Both in Wittemberg," says he, "and through the whole land, we did not cease to pray for God's mighty help. We sought him in the church; we prayed to him in our houses with our children. Nothing, we knew, could save us from destruction but his fatherly mercy. Our necessity was great, and as our wants so were our supplications for grace. We could not but acknowledge that our iniquities merited the wrath of God; that we had been unthankful for his mercy; for his unspeakable goodness in bestowing on us the gospel, and so leading us to Christ." He then speaks of the two prayers which he had set forth to be used in this season of calamity. The 55th Psalm was also repeated continually, and other portions of scripture calculated to inspire deep humility, and at the same time hope in God's mercy. The disposition of the soldiers, their readiness to receive exhortation, and firmness in the hour of danger, were another cause for thankfulness, and "the Lord in his anger remembered mercy." "Never was I happier," continues the writer, "than when I was preaching to the people,

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the surrender of the city, the almost heart-broken consort of John Frederic, Sybilla of Cleves, repaired to the camp, and throwing herself at the feet of the Emperor, besought him to have compassion on her husband and his children. Even Charles was moved at the grief of the unfortunate princess. He allowed her the miserable comfort of leading back her consort into Wittemberg, to spend a week of sorrow in the midst of his weeping people, and to endure the agony of bidding farewell to a place associated in his mind with all that could be dear and venerable to human feeling.

While such was the fate of the elector of Saxony, his colleague, the landgrave, felt that his own sentence could be only a moment deferred. The connection which existed between him and Maurice, and his influence with some other princes of the empire, led to the notion that terms might still be made, which would save him from the utter ruin into which the untempered wrath of Charles had so lately plunged his ally. Solicitations of the most pressing kind were urged in his behalf. Both Maurice and the elector of Brandeburg were constant in their applications to the Emperor, and the landgrave was at length induced to repair to Leipsic to converse with them respecting the terms on which peace might be purchased.

But it was evident that Charles would be content with

beseeching them to be diligent in supplication, and in partaking of the supper of our Lord Jesus Christ. Often when at the coming on of night I would have ceased from prayer, and retired to rest, I found it impossible to do so. I could not but continue to pray, and thus I have frequently passed the night kneeling on the naked floor; but how thankful have I been when, as the morning dawned, I opened my window and looked round upon the city, and saw it more tranquil than it had been at the beginning of the night." When the Emperor entered the city he sent away his wife and children that they might not overwhelm him with their lamentations. But for six weeks he could obtain no tidings of them. "Then spake I," says he, "to God. My wife and children are gone: my house and goods are no longer in my hands: my body and life are nigh to death: this poor city and church are in danger: our school is broken up: my brethren and friends are the prey of robbers and murderers: our dear prince is a prisoner, and has lost both land and people. 'The Lord gave and the Lord hath taken away,' as says Job. Dear Father! The Lord will give it all again: O let me live that I may see thine anger pass away, thy goodness return; this city and church restored to peace; these schools, and the university, and the ruined land, recovering their former state: so that our children and descendants may continue to enjoy the gospel of Christ: that the blessed Word, and the power of Christ, may flourish more and more. Then will I gladly sing, 'Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace.'"—T. II., b. iii., c. 73, p. 587.

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nothing less than his absolute ruin. He would offer no indulgence, hold out no hope of favour, unless the landgrave would surrender at discretion, and, without any conditions, at once resign his fortresses, and disband his soldiers. Not prepared as yet to acknowledge himself so utterly subdued, the unfortunate prince prepared to re-enter his dominions. At Weissenfels, distant from Leipsic about eighteen miles, he declared to one of his friends that if the Emperor would allow him to return home in peace, and grant him the quiet possession of one of his fortresses, with a sufficient quantity of artillery, he would resign all the rest, and make whatever other sacrifices of this kind might be necessary for the public good.

This statement was speedily conveyed to Maurice and the elector of Brandeburg, who soon after wrote to inform the landgrave that they had communicated his wishes to the Emperor. They, at the same time, earnestly exhorted him to accept the terms which were about to be offered, adding their own most solemn promise, that if any thing should be attempted against his personal liberty, they would rather share his fate than suffer such an injury to be inflicted. But nothing less than the entire and unreserved surrender of his dominions would suffice to appease the Emperor's anger. To these hard conditions he was therefore obliged to submit; and in the evening of the 18th of June, he entered the town of Hall, accompanied by Maurice and the elector of Brandeburg, to resign himself, his possessions, and his rights into the hands of the conqueror.

The next morning a paper was brought him containing the articles on the ratification of which the Emperor consented to free him from further persecution. When the unfortunate landgrave read the instrument, he found it provided, by a clause not in the original document, that the Emperor should have the right of interpreting the meaning of the articles according to his own understanding. To this the landgrave offered some natural objections, but they were overruled, and the paper was signed.

It might have been supposed that this was amply

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sufficient to satisfy the proudest conqueror. But the bishop of Arras demanded an entire surrender of the rights of conscience as well as of those which belonged to birth and station. The decrees of the Council of Trent were to be acknowledged and obeyed as authoritative; and this demand was insisted upon with no less rigour than any of the conditions originally proposed. Even threats were employed, it is said, to compel assent; and the landgrave saw himself obliged either to break off the negotiation, and resign his family to most extreme misery, or admit this second addition to the proper articles of the treaty. It was not, however, nominally to the Council of Trent that he thus gave his adhesion, but, as the clause was worded, to "a free, pious, and general assembly, in which means should be taken to reform the head as well as the members."

The humiliating ceremony was still to be performed of making a formal resignation of his dignity in person.* Led by Maurice and the elector of Brandeburg into the presence of the Emperor, the landgrave knelt down at the foot of the throne, and there acknowledging his error in taking arms against the head of the state, he personally asked to be pardoned and admitted to favour. The answer returned was couched in language which, while in its plainest and most obvious sense it conveyed an assurance of kindness and forbearance, admitted of an interpretation that might justify proceedings the most arbitrary. Adding somewhat of insult to injustice, Charles left the landgrave on his knees, nor deigned to intimate that it was permitted him to rise. When the afflicted prince ventured to do so, of his own accord, the elector of Brandeburg informed him that the Duke of Alba desired his company to supper. The invitation was of necessity accepted. Maurice and the elector were his companions at the feast, and the evening being far advanced, the guests were about to retire, when these

* Sleidan, t. II.; Hortleder, t. II., b. iii., c. 76, p. 581. The turbulent Henry of Brunswick and his son, hitherto the prisoners of the landgrave, were admitted to be spectators of his humiliation. It is reported, however, by an eye-witness, that the landgrave laughed while his chancellor was reading the instrument whereby he resigned his possessions; and that the Emperor, pointing at him angrily with his finger, said, "Well, I will teach you to laugh."—Schmidt. Geschichte der Deutchen., t. VI., b. i., c. 9, p. 92.

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two princes were engaged by the duke in a conversation of evidently great but private interest. The landgrave kept at a distance, and as the discourse was prolonged beyond his expectation, he amused himself by engaging in some game of chance. At length his friends rejoined him. Their voice and countenance indicated that they were ill satisfied with the result of their conversation. Its object could be no longer concealed. The Duke of Alba had informed them that the landgrave must remain his prisoner. They had protested against this violation of good faith; had shown how their own personal honour was pledged to protect him from such treatment; and used every other argument which affection and justice could suggest to procure his immediate liberation. But the duke insisted on his remaining a prisoner beneath his roof, and it was now too late to appeal to the Emperor himself. This they promised to do the next morning; and the only consolation they could at present offer was to remain all night with the landgrave, and comfort him with the assurance that they were deeply concerned at this strange termination of their efforts to arrange his affairs.

Early the following morning the princes sought the Emperor, to obtain the release of their companion. They were received with a direct refusal. Charles had not, it seems, been aware of the agreement by which they were bound to protect the landgrave from imprisonment. All that he had intimated was, that the captivity should not be perpetual.* Whether this was spoken in good faith seems a matter of doubt. That he did not intend to let the unfortunate prince go free is evident from the whole tenour of his conduct, but it is difficult to believe that Maurice, or the elector of Brandeburg, would have ventured to undertake so weighty a responsibility as that to which they had subjected themselves, had nothing been said, or intimated, in the Emperor's court, to authorize the belief that the landgrave would not be detained.

The impatience of the prisoner, when he found himself thus entrapped into the hands of his enemy, was

* Schmidt. Geschichte der Deutchen, t. vi., b. i., c. 9, pp. 91–95.

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corresponding to the natural restlessness and irritability of his heart. He became subject to paroxysms of despair, in which, it is said, he would have dashed his head against the wall, if not prevented by his attendants.* When, two days after the above transaction, intelligence was conveyed to him that the Emperor was about to remove from Hall, and desired that he would follow in his train, he positively refused, and declared that unless he were dragged after him by force, he would not leave his present abode, except to return home. By the earnest entreaty of the elector of Brandeburg and Maurice, he was at length induced to relax this determination. They convinced him that such a course would only injure him in many things essential to his future comfort; and to arguments of this kind they added the further assurance that they would not quit the court till he regained his liberty.†

Negotiations were again entered into on the Emperor's arrival at Naumberg. The princes engaged in the affair fulfilled their promise by coupling their own earnest entreaties with whatever suggestions were furnished by the readiness of the landgrave to sacrifice even the little which remained to him for the recovery of freedom. But Charles expressed himself in a tone of strong displeasure as they continued to urge their suit, and at last informed them, that if they persisted in following him, he would send the landgrave into Spain. This threat alarmed them, and they lost no time in making the captive prince aware of their position. It would have been dangerous to provoke the resentment of the Emperor. The only hope which remained for him would be destroyed were such to be the consequence of their exertions. They therefore besought him to impute it to their caution, and not to negligence or indifference, if they ceased, for the present, to follow the imperial court. It was added, however, that the landgrave would probably recover his liberty within a fortnight, if he would consent to pay 150,000 crowns of gold, and give

* Schmidt. Geschichte der Deutchen, t. VI., b. i., c. 9, pp. 91–95.

† Sleidan, t. II., liv. xix., p. 425.

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sureties for the execution of the other terms of the treaty.

In the course of the journey, and when he had consented to the conditions thus proposed, he presented to the Duke of Alba the letters of safe conduct, and a copy of the conditions of peace, as they had been originally given him. The duke, on surveying the instruments, simply observed, that the Emperor had promised nothing more than that his imprisonment should not be perpetual. "And when is it to end, then," exclaimed the captive; "how many years is it to last?" "If the Emperor," coldly replied Alba, "should see it good to keep you fourteen years, or more, he would be doing nothing contrary to his promise." *

The money stipulated was paid; the fortresses spoken of were levelled with the dust; the whole of the artillery belonging to the army was surrendered, and nothing remained to be given up but the honour and the life of the now almost broken-hearted prisoner. These could not be demanded with any show of decency. They were therefore left to him, and were considered, perhaps, after what he had already sacrificed, as scarcely worth the taking. But liberty was still denied him. Unable to bear confinement, he became an object of commiseration to many who would otherwise have regarded him with resentment. His friends felt deeply for him; and Eblebe, the nobleman who had conveyed his first intimation of a wish to be reconciled to the Emperor, is said to have died of grief, which became too heavy for his generous spirit to bear, when he saw the landgrave doomed to almost hopeless captivity.

Christine, the amiable landgravine, roused all the energies of her mind to put an end to this afflicting persecution.† Gathering about her her children, and the few faithful friends and counsellors that remained to the fallen family, she drew up letters, and addressed them to all the princes and orders of the empire, exposing the several circumstances attending her husband's arrest at Hall, and how he had been detained after having fulfilled, in every particular, the conditions pre-

* Sleidan, t. II., liv. xix., p. 426. † Ib., p. 428.

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scribed by the Emperor. Lest it might be said that the situation in which he had placed himself by a voluntary surrender was inevitable, the letters declared that his fortunes were not absolutely at so low an ebb as to leave no hope of recovery; and that, consequently, his surrender ought to have been regarded as entitling him in every respect to honourable and generous treatment. It was compassion for his people that had alone induced him to prefer peace to war, and as he had thus sacrificed his own feelings and interest to the common good, he might justly demand the aid and sympathy of every prince in Germany. She besought them, therefore, to use their influence for him with the Emperor; represented in powerful language the appearances of his declining health, and urged every other motive to exertion in the cause of the prisoner which could suggest itself to a heart overburthened with care and affliction. Not satisfied with this expression of her feelings, the landgravine hastened to Augsburg at the opening of the diet, and appeared among the crowds that assembled there, either to take part in its debates or await its decisions on matters important to every one who bore the name of German.

Charles felt that, however he might have been able to repulse the too eager approaches of courtiers and politicians, he could not, by the same abrupt and stern expression of his wishes, silence the clamour raised by the appeal of a firm and accomplished woman. When made acquainted with the landgravine's presence in Augsburg, and with the impression which her tale had left on the minds of several of the princes, he deemed it necessary to give a statement of what he had done, and of the reasons which had led him to pursue the course adopted. Having assembled, therefore, such members of the several orders as were already present, he said, that as different reports had been published respecting this unfortunate affair, he was anxious to place it in its true and proper light. In the explanation which followed, he stated, that when applied to in the first instance respecting a treaty of peace, he had replied, that he could only grant it on one condition,

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this was, that the landgrave should give himself up without any condition whatever. Applications had been made to him, he added, not once only, but many times, on the same subject; but his answer had always been that he would grant no conditions; that the landgrave had offended him so often and so grievously, that no assurance could content him;* that nothing would suffice but a full surrender of himself, his fortresses and his possessions. Maurice and the elector of Brandeburg offered themselves as his hostages; but it would have been cruel and unjust, said the Emperor, to suffer persons of whose loyalty and affection there could be no doubt, to expose themselves to danger in such a cause. Their offer was therefore rejected. "When Wittemberg," he continued, "fell into my hands, the landgrave proposed, by Maurice and the elector of Brandeburg, to surrender himself unconditionally, to raze his fortresses, and give up the whole of his artillery. The only point upon which he insisted as an exception was this, that he should reserve one of his strong places, that is, Ziegenheim or Cassel, and as much artillery as might be necessary for the defence of the place."

Thus far the statement of the Emperor is plain and simple; but he continues to say, that Maurice and the elector then asked in what manner the landgrave would be treated should he immediately surrender. To which it was answered, that no corporal punishment should be inflicted on the landgrave; that he should not be kept in perpetual imprisonment, and that he should have to pay no more than the sum originally demanded. It was, moreover, stated by the princes, that the landgrave need not be communicated with any further on the subject, and the whole was accordingly set forth in writing, and properly attested. Having alluded to the circumstances which followed the landgrave's surrender, and the com-

* The landgrave was the most active and resolute member of the protestant confederacy, and this no doubt was the chief cause of his long captivity, as well as of the harshness of the conditions insisted on by the Emperor. Charles knew how bold and restless he was: that France was daily looking for the restoration of the league of Smalcalde in order to carry on her own designs; and that Lower Saxony was ready, at any moment, to rise against him.—Schmidt. Geschichte der Deutchen., t. VI., b. I., c. 9, p. 96.

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plaints made respecting his detention, the Emperor says, "The first question I asked was, whether the landgrave had been detained justly or unjustly. I desired the princes to examine this matter; and added, that rather than incur the suspicion of having broken my word, I would consent to let the landgrave return home, and pay no regard whatever to the treaty which had been formed, only retaining the liberty, on my part, of pursuing the expedition from which I had refrained in accordance with his offer to surrender. Maurice and the elector of Brandeburg confessed I had done nothing unjustly, but hoped that the landgrave's imprisonment would not be too long. I replied, it would depend upon the manner in which he should fulfil his engagements. But although I trusted he would strictly obey the terms of the treaty, there are some points on which I have little reason to be satisfied; for he has neither remitted all the letters, nor made known the secrets of the league of Smalcalde as he promised; neither has he razed the fortresses in so complete a manner as I should have wished; while, on the other hand, he has attempted to corrupt his guards, and to obtain his liberty by inducing them to break their oath."

Maurice and the elector having been made acquainted with the Emperor's statement, explained their conduct in the affair in the best manner they were able. Something might be attributed, they said, to the imperfect understanding which the Emperor's minister had of their language. But whatever was the cause of the grievous consequences that had attended their negotiation, the only object contemplated was the termination of a civil war, and, in attempting this, they had no idea of exposing the landgrave to arrest and imprisonment. It was impossible not to see the stain inflicted on their reputation by what had taken place. The prince was kept in confinement to the serious injury of his health; and they therefore implored the orders now assembled to join with them in beseeching the Emperor to have some regard for them, as his most faithful friends, though he had none for the landgrave himself, and not to allow them to labour under their present load of uneasiness,

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but set the prisoner free, and take their assurance for the complete fulfilment of the stipulations on which the boon was demanded.

The Emperor refused to listen to the united appeals which this address drew forth from the numerous princes assembled in the diet. Maurice and the elector, however, still pressed him with the responsibilities to which they had rendered themselves liable. A messenger was therefore sent to the landgrave, and he was required to give up whatever letters he had in his possession, and which might be calculated to explain the late proceedings of his associates. This demand was met by a declaration that the letters referred to were in the hands of his sons, and some of his counsellors, and that if he should even consent to write for them it would be in vain, his family and friends having positively declared that they would not give them up till he was restored to liberty. "But if the Emperor," he added, "will fix the time when I shall be set free, I will endeavour to obtain a promise that the papers shall be placed in his hands."

This answer was little satisfactory to Charles. Instead, therefore, of manifesting any inclination to listen to the petitions on behalf of his prisoner, he treated him with more harshness than ever. The friends who had hitherto been suffered to remain about him were prohibited from contributing any longer to his comfort. Only two attendants were allowed him, and every thing was calculated to awaken the feeling that his captivity was only to be terminated by death.*

The translation of the council to Bologna had always been regarded by the Emperor as a measure contrary to justice and sound policy. Mendoza, his ambassador, received orders, therefore, to require the return of the fathers to their original place of meeting. The cardinal of Trent was engaged in the same cause; and Paul found it necessary to apprize his legates at Bologna of the difficulties by which he was surrounded. Del Monte replied, that it would be contrary to the dignity of the council to think of returning to Trent, unless the bishops,

* Sleidan, t. II., liv. xix., p. 443.

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who persisted in remaining there, should first come to Bologna, and recognize the authority of the assembly in that city. Other conditions were suggested, and the Pontiff, in making the answer known to the Emperor's ambassador, declared that he fully agreed with the sentiments of the fathers.

In the correspondence which took place on this important matter, the Emperor and the Roman court were placed in the most direct collision. Such was the language held by his ministers at Bologna, that the Cardinal del Monte arose on one occasion, in the midst of the council, and, interrupting the speech of Vargas, exclaimed, "I am here as president of the council, and legate of Pope Paul III., successor of St. Peter, and vicar of Jesus Christ; and the holy fathers around us are here in order to continue, for the glory of God, and the salvation of men, the council lawfully translated from Trent to this city. We therefore entreat the Emperor to change his resolution, and rather to assist us in repressing the disturbers of the council. For he is not ignorant that those who are guilty of such offences incur the severest penalties of the law. But whatsoever happen, and with whatsoever menaces we may be assailed, we shall not fail to defend the liberty and honour of the Church and of the council with the same determination as we would our own."

A. D. 1548.

But this bold declaration did not silence the representatives of the Emperor, and Vargas concluded a speech of considerable force with these words, "I protest against your reply, as vain, illusory, and full of falsehoods; and that it is to you, and not to the Emperor, that the world will attribute the evils by which it is burdened. I affirm, moreover, that you had not the power to remove the council. But as you have paid no regard to the welfare of the public, the Emperor, as the protector of the Church, will take the charge upon himself, so far as it is allowed by law, and the precepts of the holy fathers." To this the legate immediately replied, and with a dignity becoming the station which he occupied, "We take God to witness, that we are ready to suffer death, rather than allow the magistrate, who is but a lay-

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man, to interfere with the summoning of councils. The Emperor is the son of the Church, and not its lord and master."*

This effort of the Emperor's minister at Bologna, conjoined with the protestation of Mendoza, at Rome, produced a strong impression on the mind of the Pope. In a consistory, assembled in the month of February, he professed to be deeply afflicted at the ingratitude of the Emperor, who had derived from the Church the most ample means of overcoming his enemies. "You appear," said he, addressing the ambassador, "to regard this as of little weight; but you ought to recollect, that I have rendered assistance till my forces and my treasures are well nigh exhausted, and that whatever has been done was offered at the time when aid was most required. Could I then, after a victory obtained by my assistance, expect a protest like that which has been now presented? Do I not experience that of which the prophet speaks? 'Wherefore, when I looked that it should bring forth grapes, brought it forth wild grapes.'† Since my elevation to the pontificate, I have, with extreme care, cultivated the Emperor as a noble plant, expecting one day to reap an abundant harvest; but that which has now taken place has deprived me of the hope of ever finding myself thus rewarded."

A point of great importance was alluded to in this speech of the Pontiff. He had been accused of effecting the translation of the council by means of prelates wholly devoted to his interests. To this he answered, "You say that the authors of this translation of the council are attached to me. Think you that they ought to be condemned for this? You praise those who continue at Trent, because they are opposed to me? Consider, I entreat you, the danger which must result from such a state of things. For when the bishops refuse to render the submission which they owe to the Pope, how many quarrels and dissentions are the necessary consequence thereof? How great is the injury suffered by the Church! But if you mean by those who are attached to me, the violent and the factious, who only wish to carry their object, and to defend me at any price, and

* Sleidan, t. II., liv. xix., p. 457. † Isaiah, v., 4.

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at all hazards, I answer, I know not such, for I have no private interests, no other wish than that of a father of a family, or of a faithful shepherd, anxious for the safety of his charge. Nor has any thing hitherto occurred in the council which could render such a devotion to my particular interests necessary. All that I have required of the bishops is, that they should act according to the dictates of their conscience; and in conformity with this desire I have not failed to instruct my legates to be careful that no occasion should be given the fathers to complain that they were not at liberty to speak fully and freely what they thought."

Alluding, in the next place, to the assertion that his answer to the Emperor was full of falsities, and that if any evil resulted from his conduct, the monarch would take upon himself the care of the Church, he said, "The reproaches with which I am assailed have little modesty, and are equally vexatious and unjust. But they are brought against me without any proof, and I have, therefore, no opportunity of giving a distinct reply. With regard to the injuries which, it is said, I am bringing on the Church, and for which the Emperor is to find a remedy, I shall endeavour, by God's aid, ever to avoid doing that which might enable my enemies to say, with justice, that I had neglected the interests of the Church; but if, through the weakness of human nature, such a misfortune should ever happen to me, I should not regret that my negligence had had the effect of exciting the zeal of the Emperor, and of leading him to supply the wants of the Church; provided, indeed, that he kept within the bounds prescribed to him, those, that is, which are set by the forms of law, the precepts of the holy fathers, and the general consent of the Christian world. If he act thus, I do not doubt that, although his functions are altogether different and distinct from mine, they will be found to operate in a manner salutary to the Church."*

The determination of the Pontiff not to send back the council to Trent was regarded by the Emperor as a sufficient proof that that assembly could never be made the instrument of restoring religious tranquillity. A por-

* Sleidan, t. II., liv. xx., p. 474.

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tion of the bishops had resisted the translation, and still remained at Trent. They protested against the legality of decrees that should be passed during the period of separation; and the simple removal of the assembly from one place to another was thus spoken of as a sufficient reason why many of the most enlightened bishops of the Roman Church might conscientiously resist the will of the Pope and his legates, and the important body which still assumed the right and title of an œcumenical council. And this course of action was approved of by the Emperor and his ministers; was mainly, indeed, suggested and supported by their wishes and influence. With how little justice, then, could it be objected to the Protestants, by the imperial party, that they were guilty of faction, because they refused to recognize the authority of an assembly, in which none of the rules were observed which they regarded as essential to the character of a legitimate council!

While the episcopal members of the diet, assembled at Augsburg, had insisted that the council should be acknowledged as it was constituted by the Pope, the new elector of Saxony and his associates, among the foremost of which was the elector of Brandeburg, protested with equal firmness against any assembly which claimed the title of a free and general council, so long as the Roman Pontiff should assume the right of directing its discussions. Charles did not fail to assure them, that he would use his power to give the assembly that character which might satisfy the Christian world of its honesty and independence. But even the success which had attended him in the late war, and the vast increase of influence which was thence derived, were not sufficient to establish any dread of his authority in the minds of the legates at Bologna. It was therefore necessary that some other attempt should be made, and hence the measures which led to the establishment of the Interim.*

This celebrated effort to reconcile the hostile opinions

* So called because it pretended to introduce a system of doctrine for the period that should intervene till the settlement of the catholic creed and discipline by the general council.—Paolo Sarpi, t. I., liv. iii., p. 535.

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which had now so long prevailed in Germany, was one of the most remarkable proceedings in this agitated period of religious history. But a faint promise of success was given by the design, if considered in the light of a sincere attempt to produce general satisfaction. Meetings without number had already taken place between the protestant and Roman catholic divines. They had scarcely ever led to any other result than the settling of some points considered indifferent by both parties, or further embittering the minds of the disputants. But the Emperor was resolved to try the plan once more. He was probably urged on by the elector of Brandeburg, and some others, who had continued to preserve both their religion and their loyalty unbroken. It has been also conjectured that he was not less anxious to show his indifference to the Pope, or his resentment for the manner in which he had been treated with regard to the translation of the council.

However this may be, the strongest professions were made by Charles of a wish to secure the satisfaction of all parties. To this end, he chose such men as seemed most ready to treat of the questions which might arise with fairness and moderation. On the side of the Catholics were Julius Von Pflug, who by the late revolutions had obtained possession of the disputed bishopric of Naumberg, a man of acknowledged great ability and learning, and Michael Helding, titular bishop of Sidon, and suffregan bishop of Mentz. The Protestants were to be represented by John Isleben Agricola, a divine of piety and experience, and who, eighteen years before, had been considered as of sufficient ability to be placed in the foremost ranks of those who, with Melancthon and Brentius, contended for the Church in Saxony. The elector of Brandeburg was anxious to have Bucer at hand while these theologians were consulting on the form to be adopted in expressing their conjoint views of Christian doctrine. In obedience to his wish, that eminent theologian was sent by the senate of Strasburg to await in the neighbourhood of Augsburg the occurrence of any question that might require the exercise of his judgment. The presence of a man so highly esteemed,

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both for his abilities and moderation, could not fail to produce a good impression on the minds of all parties. When the compendium was drawn up which was to furnish the world with a formulary of belief, acceptable alike to Catholics and Protestants, the elector of Brandeburg desired Bucer to examine it with all the care which the importance of the design required. The wish was obeyed; but, instead of the result being such as the elector desired, Bucer delivered it as his judgment that the reformers could not receive the work which had been prepared, and that they would be justified in rejecting it, seeing that it abounded in statements which supported some of the most obnoxious opinions of the Roman Church. The elector, it is said, expressed no slight degree of uneasiness at this declaration of a divine in whom he had felt the Protestants did well to place confidence. Granvelle was summoned to employ his influence in the endeavour to overcome his opposition. He used for this purpose unbounded promises of wealth and patronage; but experienced as he was in the arts of persuasion, and vast as were his means for advancing those who yielded to his wishes, he found Bucer immovable, and his last resource were expressions of indignation and threats, which the presence of Spanish soldiers, and other instruments of tyranny, indicated might readily be put in execution.

The reformer was glad to escape from the perils by which he was surrounded; and the book which he had thus been vainly called to criticise soon after claimed the attention of theologians in all parts of the Christian world. This celebrated work treated of the first principles of religion, and of the authority by which they are established. Thus it spoke of the condition of the human race in its several states of innocence and guilt; of redemption; of charity and good works; of assurance respecting the forgiveness of sins; of the Church, of its power and its ministers; of the Pope; of vows and sacraments; of the invocation and intercession of saints; of the commemoration of their virtues; of the communion; of ceremonies and the proper use of sacraments.

The extensive share which the divines of the Roman

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Church had in the compilation of this compendium will be seen at once from the statement made respecting the merit of good works. Such actions, it was said, as are performed over and above what God commands, and which are called works of supererogation, deserve praise. Of the Church, it was said, that it has the power of interpreting scripture, of drawing therefrom what dogmas and opinions it deems proper; that it has the right of determining by its councils things doubtful, and of making laws. But if any question could exist respecting the meaning of such propositions, it was impossible to doubt the real intention of this work, proposed for the acceptance of the reformers of Germany, when it was further declared, that there is but one sovereign Pontiff, who, by the privilege accorded to St. Peter, is superior to every other authority; and that the government of the whole Church has been intrusted to him by Jesus Christ, though in such a manner that the other bishops share with him in the responsibilities of the charge.

Passing then to the ordinances and sacraments of the Church, it is stated, that the Holy Spirit is conferred on those who receive confirmation and the chrism, and that the bishop is the sole minister of this sacrament: that confession of all sins ought to be made to a priest: that by the satisfaction, which consists in the fruits of penitence, and, above all, in fasting, almsgiving, and prayer, the cause of sin is rooted up, and its temporal punishment taken away, or at least materially softened: that extreme unction is a rite established since the days of the apostles, either for the cure of the body, or for the fortifying of the soul against the fiery darts of the devil, and that, therefore, it ought to be administered whenever death approaches: that marriage contracted without the consent of parents is valid, but that children should not fail to seek their counsel: that Jesus Christ, in the last supper, instituted the sacrament of his body and blood; first, that the faithful might receive it as a most salutary nourishment for the soul; and, secondly, that they might thereby commemorate the sufferings of their Redeemer.

But in the further statement of the last named article

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it is said, there are two sacrifices of Jesus Christ, the one bloody, on the cross, and the other in which he offers to his Father his body and his blood, under the form of bread and wine, and which he directed his apostles and their successors to do to the end of the world: that by the former, the human race has been reconciled to the Father; while by the latter, which is not bloody, Jesus Christ is presented to God; not that we may merit anew the remission of sins, but that we may apply to ourselves by faith that reconciliation which has been prepared for us by the death of Christ; that in this sacrifice we ought to commemorate the saints, in order that they may intercede for us, and assist our supplications by their merits: and that the memory of the dead should be preserved, and prayers made for them to God.

Of rights and ceremonies it was ordained, that none of the customs which had for many generations been observed in baptism should be omitted in the future administration of the sacrament: that the ceremonies of the mass should remain unchanged; that two masses, at least, should be said every day in the churches belonging to towns, and one, in country places, on festivals: that customs which had been introduced by the superstition of later times might be discontinued, but advantage was not to be taken of this permission to set aside the practices of antiquity. According to a similar rule, the habits, ornaments, vessels, crosses, altars, tapers, and images, were to be retained as in former times; and so also of prayers, and psalmody; of funeral rites, of the observation of fasts and festivals, many of which had of late been discontinued, but were now ordered to be restored to the place which they before occupied among the ordinances of the Church.

Another subject of no slight difficulty was next treated of. The marriage of the clergy had long been regarded by the reformers as essentially connected with the general question of Christian liberty. In the course of the discussion to which it had given rise, facts had been elicited which tended to prove that it was not less intimately connected with the interests of morality

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than with the principles of freedom established by the plainest dictates of reason and the gospel. It was therefore a matter which required to be treated with extreme caution. The most moderate attention to the state of feeling in Germany was sufficient to convince the observer that to attempt, at the present period, to deny the right of marriage to the clergy, would be fatal to any plan of pacification. It was consequently stated, that though it was greatly to be wished that a sufficient number of ecclesiastics could be found who had devoted themselves to a life of celibacy, there were so many already married who could not, without exciting much disorder, be obliged to separate from their wives, that it was deemed advisable to make no rule on this subject, but to leave things as they were till the decision of the council.

The administration of the sacrament, in both kinds, presented another question of almost equal difficulty. Permission to drink of that cup which is the communion of the blood of Christ was one of the most precious gifts bestowed on the people by the Reformation. They felt it to be so, and those by whom their right to it was asserted multiplied proof upon proof that fraud, folly and superstition had had an equal share in withholding it from them. In this state of the controversy, therefore, it was evident that no effort on the part of either kings or councils could persuade a numerous and well-instructed community to resign the privilege of partaking of the whole sacrament of Christ's body and blood. It was accordingly ordained that the liberty thus acquired should not be interfered with, provided, and the provision was fair and equitable, that those who claimed this right did not disturb or revile those who restricted themselves to the bread in the communion, it being the doctrine of such persons that the bread comprehended as well the blood as the body of the Lord.*

It was with the most eager interest that the appearance of this book of the Interim had been everywhere expected. No sooner was it published than the zeal and learning, not only of the protestant, but of Roman

* Sleidan, t. II., liv. xx., p. 482.

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catholic divines, were engaged in discovering the errors which it endeavoured to force upon their respective parties. Copies of the book had been placed in the hands of members of the diet, and others were sent to Rome, before it was made public. The opinions then stated afforded little encouragement to the Emperor to pursue this method of compromise. Nothing could exceed in bitterness the language employed in the papal court to express the feelings entertained on the subject of his interference. That he should have ventured, as a layman, in the midst of laymen, to meddle with the doctrines of the Church, was worthy of reprobation, though he had confined himself to the simplest truths; but what could be thought of one who had assailed, not merely a single principle, but the whole structure of the creed and discipline of the Church? Such conduct could only be compared to that of the authors, in antient times, of the "Henoticon," the "Ecthesis," or the "Type," men who had led the way to countless disorders, and who ought to be regarded as worthy of the severest reprehension. They had pretended to establish unity of opinion; and they had hitherto been conspicuous as the only three who could be accused of the folly of seeking to effect it by such means. But now another was added to the number, and this was Charles the Fifth.

The knowledge of what had taken place in other countries rendered every interference in ecclesiastical matters, on the part of the civil power, a subject of extreme anxiety to the court of Rome. This feeling was unadvisedly allowed to exhibit itself; and it was now said, that the Emperor wished to imitate the example of Henry of England, and to make himself head of the Church, and not in a single island only, but in Spain, Italy, Germany and all their confederate states.

Having thus charged the Emperor with an equal share of ambition and duplicity, the Pope and his advisers proceeded to enumerate the heresies exhibited in the book of the Interim. Thus, that which had been stated on the subject of original sin, justification and the sacraments, was represented as opposed to the doc-

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trines on these articles confirmed by the Council of Trent. It was, moreover, objected, that the Interim had been proposed as furnishing the means of satisfying men's minds till the council should decide on the questions at issue. Many of these had been settled, and the dogmas of the Interim were therefore no longer needed. To set forth any system after the council had issued its decrees was virtually to deny its authority, or the worth of its discussions; and the utmost caution ought, it was said, to be used, in obeying the wishes of a sovereign who, as the Emperor had done, pretended to desire the return of the council to Trent, while he left nothing unattempted to destroy the authority with which it was invested.

In their more particular remarks on the doctrines of the Interim, the partisans of Rome observed, that while the opinions expressed had outwardly an appearance of orthodoxy, they were essentially opposed to the best established precepts of the antient Church. Thus the language employed respecting concupiscence was decidedly that of the Lutherans. Justification was described in a manner not less reprehensible, confidence in the promises, and faith generally, being made too prominent an element in the procuring of this blessing. In the chapter on good works, a similar fault was detected. No mention was made of the grace of condignity, which ought, said the critics of the Interim, to have been described as the foundation of the whole doctrine. The account given of the Church was equally imperfect, no allusion being discoverable that could lead the reader to recognize a visible head, a point essential to the proper view of the subject; while, on the other hand, mention was made of an invisible Church, which afterwards should become visible. This, it was said, savoured of the worst errors of Luther, and tended immediately to the destruction of the hierarchy. The doctrine and use of the sacraments, moreover, were described as one of the characters of the true Church; but not enough was said of obedience to the Pope; and thus every sect might assume to itself the character of a Church. After having made other objections of a similar nature, the

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Roman critics concluded by stating, that the book of the Interim was directed against the very foundations of the Church, and they therefore exhorted the princes of Europe, the bishops, and the authorities of Christendom at large, to rouse themselves to the conflict which this attack upon the Pontificate and the strong holds of orthodoxy seemed to render inevitable.

While such were the feelings entertained by the principal dependents on the papal court, Paul III. himself is said to have viewed the affair not only without alarm, but with a secret sentiment of satisfaction. According to those who are supposed to have been able to dive into his real thoughts upon the occasion, he considered that the Emperor had inflicted a vital injury on his own cause. The Roman Catholics would in all countries, he felt persuaded, resolutely oppose themselves to attempts subversive of their faith. It was equally clear that the Protestants would be still more indignant at the sacrifice which the plan of the Interim required them to make; and thus the only consequence to be expected was general confusion among the people, and a collision between the Church and the chief of the empire, in which the latter would be made to feel, that he had committed a fatal error in imagining that the victories he had gained over his enemies were sufficient to authorize his interference with the doctrines of the Church. He concluded, therefore, that it would be better to let the work take its course, and to trust to the good faith and loyalty of his catholic children for nullifying any of the injurious effects which it might otherwise have upon his affairs.*

In Germany the sentiments entertained on the subject fully justified the predictions of the Pontiff. The adherents of the Church of Rome loudly exclaimed against the impropriety of the Emperor's interference, and the dangerous nature of the compromise which it was his object to establish. It was with no less uneasiness the Protestants contemplated the movement against them; and though Maurice† and other dependents on the Em-

* Lett. de M. de Marillac à Henri II.—Paolo Sarpi, t. I., liv. iii., p. 538.

† Maurice, the palatine and the elector of Brandeburg, considered at first that the plan was practicable; but the new elector of Saxony was probably

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peror's present favour concealed much of their vexation, it could not but appear to the practised eye of Charles, that he had succeeded badly with all parties in this his seemingly refined stroke of religious policy.

An assembly of the orders took place on the 15th of May.* The Emperor then stated the object which he had had in view when he directed the publication of the book of the Interim. Nothing, he observed, could be done for the peace of the nation till concord was established in matters of religion. The work now presented to the hostile parties seemed to him to embody their several views, and to reconcile them as far as possible. It had been originally put into his hands by men of great worth and judgment; it had since been subjected to the severe examination of others deeply versed in theology; and he was assured that, if candidly read, it would be found to contain nothing injurious to the catholic faith; nothing contrary to the laws, the doctrines, or the practices of the Church, with the exception of two points, the one regarding the marriage of the clergy, the other, the administration of the Lord's Supper in both kinds.

At the conclusion of his address, he said, "I desire that those who have hitherto in so praiseworthy a manner obeyed the dictates of the Church may continue to do so. For those who have introduced novelties into religion, I demand that they unite themselves to the other orders, and conform to the common faith, so far, at least, as it is set forth in the book, and that they make no further attempts at producing changes, but await with submission the decree of the council." Having said this, he directed the volume to be brought forth and read to the assembly. The archbishop of Mentz arose as the secretary finished the reading of the book, and immediately invited the assembled orders to manifest their gratitude to the Emperor, for the good which he had done, by entering into his views, and using their influence to establish the Interim. No time, it appears,

led to express his wishes rather than his convictions. He could scarcely have been so ignorant of the real dispositions of his new subjects.—Schmidt, t. VI., b. i., c. xi., p. 126.

* Sleidan, t. II, liv. xx., p. 486.

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was to be lost; and Charles, taking advantage of the prelate's complaisance, directed that the book should be printed immediately in Latin and German.

This determination was taken in direct opposition to the Pope's legate, who remarked that it was a thing unheard of that a consecrated priest should marry; and that it depended on the sovereign authority of the Pope alone to declare whether the communion might be received by the people in both kinds. The astonishment of the protestant members of the diet was not allowed expression at the moment, but it was soon to manifest itself to the equal discomfiture of the Emperor, and the benefit of the Reformation. Neither the Roman catholic nor the protestant clergy could be persuaded to refer to the book of the Interim, either in the conduct of their services, or in their instructions from the pulpit.* In many places, as at Lubeck, Hamburg, and Ravensburg, the people were excited to open violence in their resistance to the new forms.

Maurice, in the meantime, found himself in a situation not less dangerous than painful.† Indefensible as had been his conduct towards John Frederic, he never swerved from his attachment to the plan or doctrines of the Reformation. He was anxious to secure the friendship of the Emperor, as the author of his fortunes; and with the melancholy facility of a mind in which ambition holds an equal place with honour, and neither the one nor the other is sanctified by true holiness, he readily yielded to the notion that he might remain faithful to the protestant cause, and yet concede much in favour of the Interim. But he had to encounter the stern and sedate looks of a people remarkable for their knowledge, steadfastness of purpose, and earnest zeal.

* Schmidt. Geschichte der Deutchen, t. VI., b. i., c. xi, p. 140.

† He addressed his people, in conjunction with the elector of Brandeburg, on the subject of the Interim, praying them to receive it, and bring it into use, as calculated to promote peace and charity. In speaking of the power and authority of the Church, it is said, "What the true Christian Church, which is united in the Holy Ghost, shall teach and make known, in matters of faith, that also shall be taught, since nothing then either will or can be done against holy writ. In regard to things indifferent, those shall be observed which the old Christian teachers taught and practised."—Hortleder, t. II., b. iii., c. 86, p. 930.

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The divines of Wittemberg and Leipsic received his exhortations respecting the Interim with the calm but determined answer that they could neither abridge nor change in any way the confession of Augsburg. To this he answered with remonstrances, the tone of which was given by fears excited at the thought of what might be the consequence should he not be able to satisfy the wishes of the Emperor. An army, he said, might be forthwith brought into his territory, and the people be thereby again exposed to the miseries of intestine war. The assurance, which he was not backward to afford, that no essential point of doctrine would be given up; that he was not less anxious than the most zealous of divines to preserve the pure protestant faith, tended, in some degree, to create a party in his support, and add to the weight of what he had urged in proof of the necessity of caution and forbearance. Nothing was needed, he said, but to yield in things which ought not to be regarded as essential to purity of faith, or as really interfering with Christian liberty.

The known sentiments of Melancthon himself were in favour, it is said, of sacrificing something to the present necessity.* He saw no prospect of tranquillity, unless the one party or the other would consent to yield some portion of its demands. There were things pertaining to both which, according to his views of the respective Churches, might be safely surrendered; and when he found the enemies of the Reformation too strong to be forced into making a treaty on equal terms, he considered that it would be for the vital interests of the gospel to submit to the necessity of the times, and give up whatever could be spared without injury to the truth itself.† Maurice regarded his character with great veneration; and, in the midst of the many dangers to

* Schmidt. Geschichte der Deutchen, t. VI., b. i., c. xii., p. 142.

† Etsi autem hic, cum, quid institueretur, cerneret, non dissimulabat metum suum, quod exitum talium inceptorum nullum videret, ac ne progressiones quidem faciles, vel non potius admodum difficiles et ubique incursuras prospiceret, atque eos à quibus talia nasci proferrique credebat, non dubitabat apertè reprehendere et accusare. In eo tamen constantissime perseveravit, ut puram sui ceramque doctrinam retinens, in parum necessariis et externis quibusdam ritibus non impiarum observationum moderationem, nequaquam id quod quidam faciebant damnaret.—Camerarius. Vita P. Melancthon, p. 271.

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which the present state of things exposed the more conspicuous teachers of the Reformation, was always ready to afford him protection and assistance.*

To the influence of Melancthon may probably be ascribed the more subdued spirit in which, after a few months, the divines of Saxony spoke of the Interim. Though far from willing to adopt its injunctions, they seemed ready to acknowledge that it could not be cast aside without exposing the whole country, as their prince had told them, to the devastations of war. The change in their feelings was soon discovered, and slight as it was, and small as were its effects, there were many who contemplated it as the first step to apostacy. Not an epithet of reproach was spared to describe their supposed baseness. They were everywhere saluted as Baalites, Achabites, Indifferents, and Epicureans; and it might have been supposed that they had been really guilty of sacrificing to their present fears whatever was most dear to the reformed Church.

Among the foremost of those who contributed to excite the anger of the people against the preachers of Saxony, was Flacius Illyricus, a man of considerable learning, but fierce temper. United with him were Nicolas Amsdorf and Nicolas Gallus, both men of ability, and jealous to the uttermost of protestant independence. In their writings they observed that rites and ceremonies although indifferent in their nature, were rendered important when introduced by violence, or imposed upon the conscience as a necessary part of divine worship.

While the Saxon clergy were thus assailed on the one side by men who had but a short time before formed a part of their own number, similar missiles reached them from Hamburgh and Lubec, where the party raised against them was actively engaged in maintaining the book of the Interim, and proving its inconsistence with the purity of evangelical doctrine or practice. Having stated what they themselves understood by "things indifferent," the authors of these attacks desired Melancthon and his brethren to explain,

* Camerarius. Vita P. Melancthon, p. 274.

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in their turn, what sense they attached to the expression. Melancthon's answer was comprehended in this sentence, "People must submit to suffer some degree of servitude if it do not involve any impiety."

The firmness with which the more determined of the reformers felt it their solemn duty to oppose the Interim, led many of them into toil and difficulty, from which, a few years before, they might have hoped the prosperity of their party had finally delivered them. Among those who suffered most in these days of alarm, John Brentius was equally conspicuous for his learning and his fortitude. This excellent man had formerly lived at Hall, and in 1546 narrowly escaped the swords of the Spanish soldiers. Having forcibly entered his house, they drove him and his family to seek shelter in the public hospital. A Spanish ecclesiastic of rank dismissed the soldiers the next day, and took possession of the house himself. The well-arranged library of the unfortunate master soon attracted his notice, and he began without delay to examine its stores. While engaged in this occupation, he discovered a number of letters and other documents relating to the circumstances in which Brentius and his brother reformers were now placed. The common dictates of honour and propriety, about which this Spanish dignitary would no doubt have discoursed at any other time with skill and ardour, were altogether forgotten in the present case. He opened and read the letters with eager curiosity. They made known the affairs of Brentius in every point of view; and not contented with the information he had himself acquired, the Spaniard immediately employed it to inflame the minds of his countrymen against the wretched family in the hospital.

Brentius soon discovered that he was doomed to destruction unless he could save himself by a secret departure from the asylum. In the middle, therefore, of a dark and tempestuous night he quietly left the hospital. The storm would not allow him to travel far beyond the outskirts of the town, and he lay concealed there till he could appear again with comparative safety among his brethren. The reports which reached him

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respecting the moderation of the Emperor, encouraged him to return to the town and resume his duties. He continued in the exercise of his office undisturbed till the publication of the Interim. It was impossible that a man of his eminence should remain neutral at such a season. The call made upon him to declare his sentiments was answered freely and conscientiously. He was compelled, he said, by the duty which he owed to the Church, to acknowledge that he considered the book of the Interim a violation of the doctrine of scripture. The threats which reached his ears, after the utterance of this bold confession, convinced him that he could no longer remain safe in his home. He again, therefore, sought his obscure retreat, and scarcely had he left the town when a band of Spanish soldiers entered the place, and fixed upon his house as the fit residence for their leader. His wife and children were expelled without mercy. The former, already labouring under the disease which soon after terminated her life, could scarcely support herself as she was driven from the threshold of her home. No information had reached her respecting the fate of her husband. She was ignorant of the place where he had found shelter; and, with her children about her, she was compelled to wander forth, convinced, every step she set, that it would be necessary for her to get far from Hall before any one dare give her the pittance of common charity. The Duke of Wirtemberg had the credit of offering a shelter to the afflicted family, but it was only in secret that that virtuous prince might venture to afford them an asylum.

Several other eminent protestant ministers were compelled to leave their flocks on the publication of the Interim. However ready to suffer on their own part, they dare not bring trouble upon those whom they regarded with paternal affection; and where this was not directly the case, the fears of the princes to whom they were subject would not allow of their speaking in the terms which their consciences dictated. In the temporary strife which ensued, they became convinced that it would be vain to attempt resistance when they had

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scarcely the support of sympathy from their own party. In most cases, therefore, they retired from the field of contention, and some of the towns which had long rejoiced at the sound of the gospel were left almost without the means of instruction.

Among those who suffered through the operation of the Interim, John Frederic must not be passed unnoticed. The Emperor felt that it would materially aid his views, could he induce the deposed prince to receive the new formulary. He accordingly directed both Granvelle and the bishop of Arras to communicate with him on the subject. The imperial ministers were commissioned to propose terms well calculated, it was thought, to win the attention of the captive. But neither persuasions nor the promise of speedy liberation could make any impression on the firm mind of the elector. "When," said he, "a year ago, the Emperor prescribed to me, as the condition of our treaty, an acknowledgment of his decrees, and of those of the council, I refused. He saw that I was not to be moved, and nothing more was said on the subject of religion. This has been a great consolation to me. I could readily resign myself, and whatever I possessed, into his hands, desiring only this, that I should not be interfered with in that which regards my faith. But I am now again pressed on the subject. He desires me to sign the decree which he has lately published. I, on the other hand, declare, that I believe the doctrine taught me from my youth to be in every respect conformable to the dictates of the prophets and apostles, and, as such, to be free from error. My father and I, conjointly with several other princes, offered a confession of this doctrine to the examination of a general council. God has enlightened me with the knowledge of his truth; and I am assured that to renounce it would be to involve my soul in eternal ruin. Should I, then, receive this decree, believing, as I do, that it is contrary to scripture? I should be condemning the doctrine of Jesus Christ, and be approving by my words that which I know to be erroneous and impious. Should I not, by such a conduct, be imposing on God and the Emperor? Could any thing be more

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criminal? Would it not be to incur the guilt of sinning against the Holy Ghost, a sin unpardonable either in this world or in the world to come? Thus, constrained by my conscience to refuse assent to this decree, I entreat his imperial majesty more earnestly than ever, and by the mercy which God has shewn us through the sacrifice of his Son, not to judge impatiently of my refusal. It is to secure salvation only that I adhere unchangeably to the confession of Augsburg; it is to this end alone that I have now to look. There are those who will accuse me of being less concerned about the interests of my soul than the satisfying of pride and vanity. But what, I pray you, can be of greater value to me than liberty? What can I more earnestly desire, bowed down as I am with infirmities, than permission to return to my wife and children, and the consolations of a home? God is my witness, that in all I do I seek no other object than an inheritance in the kingdom of heaven. Let the Emperor know, that in every thing which concerns not my faith I am ready to serve him. The promises given him shall be faithfully kept; and I entreat him to pardon that in which I have offended him, and to deliver me from this long captivity, lest I should be the first prince whom he has kept a prisoner to the end of his days." *

Charles never presented himself in a more unfavourable light than by the manner in which he received this appeal of the deposed elector. He had already treated him with unbending severity. Somewhat of gratuitous insult had been even added to this. The inauguration of Maurice, which took place at Augsburg, was solemnized opposite the house in which the unfortunate prince was confined. But now that he finally declared that nothing should induce him to cast aside his faith, he became an object of the most vindictive resentment. This feeling, so unworthy of a great sovereign, manifested itself in ways which are commonly the resources of only petty tyrants. Like most of the Protestants, he had ceased to keep the fasts of the Romish Church; means were now employed to compel him to do violence to his conscience. What was far worse, his Bible was

* Sleidan, t. II., liv. xx., p. 493.

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taken away, and the clergyman who had hitherto attended him was exposed to so many threats that he found it necessary to lay aside his ordinary dress, and secretly make his escape.*

The determination of Charles to pursue the advantage he had gained over the Protestants was still further seen in the edict of reformation published on the 14th of June. This was a close imitation of the decrees of the council, and treated of the ordination of the clergy; of schools and monasteries; of preaching; of the administration of the sacraments; of the ceremonies of the Church, and of the main points of ecclesiastical discipline. By one of its articles directions were given for the re-establishment of monasteries, and by another, the several services were to be performed again in the Latin language, lest they might become contemptible in the eyes of the people. In the same manner, the canon of the mass was restored; it was also ordered that the ceremony should be performed in a low voice, to preserve the solemn and venerable character of the mysteries. Again, the old and accustomed blessing was to be pronounced on water and salt, on herbs, the Paschal Lamb, and new fruits; altars, moreover, chalices, the habits of the clergy, and the various vessels belonging to the Church, were to be consecrated by prayer, to preserve them from the cunning sleights of Satan and the influence of enchantment.

While such were the precepts of this decree, to which the greatest importance was likely to be attached by the members of the Roman Church, they were precisely those most calculated to disgust the Protestants, now long accustomed to regard unnecessary ceremonies as detracting from the honour due only to the gospel.

* It is said that an application of a similar kind was made to the landgrave, and that he returned for answer, that though there were many things in the book of the Interim which he did not understand, he should not reject it, seeing that he could not suppose himself to be wiser than its authors. Sleidan, however, only mentions this as a report; and his editor observes, that it is scarcely probable that the landgrave, who had shown himself so firm in rejecting the council, would have submitted thus unreservedly to the Interim. The report was apparently circulated in order to influence other protestant princes. This is rendered the more likely, as the landgrave was still kept a close prisoner, and carried from place to place under a guard of Spanish soldiers.—Sleidan, t. II., liv. xx., p. 495.

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Nothing, indeed, could have been more impolitic than the whole of the Emperor's proceedings at this period. There is no reason to believe that he desired simply to insult the reformers, or to laugh proudly and contemptuously at their seeming fall. It was rather from policy than anger that he generally acted; and he fell into the grievous error of imagining that it would be possible for him, by pursuing his temporary success, to bring the German reformers into complete subjection to his will. It is easy to be conceived that he had ulterior views in these proceedings. A divided people present strong temptations to ambition. Charles was alarmed for his own legitimate authority only, at the outbreak of the religious troubles. When these fears were removed, the hope might readily arise, that the power which had been sufficient to subdue in the first instance, would serve for the attaining of greater and more permanent triumphs, and that Germany might at length be brought under the sway of his sceptre till it owned his authority in the same manner as his hereditary dominions.

The first check given to these efforts to re-establish the rites of the Roman Church among the Protestants was on the side of Strasburg. "We desire nothing more," said the senators, "than ability to satisfy the Emperor; but it is our own persuasion, and that of our fellow-citizens, that to receive the present decree would be to wound our consciences, to offend God, and to endanger the salvation of our souls." They therefore entreated him, in the name of Jesus Christ, to exercise the prudence for which he was renowned, and not to press them in a matter which regarded not only their lives and fortunes but the prospects of eternity. "Let us," they added, "follow the confession of Augsburg till the issue of the council be known, and we promise, in the meantime, to do nothing that can tend to disturb the peace or the religious concord of the neighbourhood."

Granvelle, to whom this communication was made, replied, that the Emperor had always entertained a good opinion of the disposition of the people of Strasburg; but that, as his decree had been generally received, he could admit of no answer to his commands but such as

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implied a perfect readiness to submit to his will. The simple question, therefore, to which the senate had to reply was, what were the views entertained on the subject of the decree, and what conduct it had determined to pursue.

No answer to this demand seemed so easy as that which was dictated by the present state of public affairs. The representatives of the senate replied, that they supposed that all inquiries respecting religion were already referred to the council; while, on the contrary, the book of the Interim pretended to settle questions of the most important character. But arguments of this kind had no force with the Emperor's minister, and the conversation was concluded, on the part of Granvelle, with further threats of his master's resentment, and on that of the deputies, with the calm assurance that, though he might burn men's bodies, he could not force them to believe against the conviction of their minds.

But notwithstanding this appearance of determination, the senate of Strasburg was induced, only a few months after, to yield no small portion of the independence for which it had hitherto contended. Charles, on leaving Augsburg, proceeded to Ulm, and finding the clergy of that city strongly opposed to his views, he hesitated not to exercise against them that tyrannical authority which was supported by an army of fierce and bigoted foreigners. No sooner had he entered the city than he demanded of the senate a definite answer respecting the Interim. The clergy were assembled to give their counsel in so important a matter. Their answer was consistent with their former declarations. When pressed with the remark that the decree had been received at Augsburg, they replied, that they did not pretend to judge the motives of others; but, for themselves, they had pledged their consciences, by a solemn oath, to preach the pure and incorruptible gospel, without any mixture of human traditions, and that, if the senate desired them to cease from announcing the doctrines of Christ, they prayed to be released from the obligation of their oath.

Having uttered this bold sentiment, they were re-

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quested to retire; but were soon after recalled. "You will be made prisoners," said some members of the senate, to these true ministers of Christ. "If such be the will of God," was the answer, "we are ready to meet the danger, and any other to which He may be pleased to expose us." These words had scarcely escaped them, when a guard of soldiers appeared, and they were conducted to the house in which the Emperor had taken up his residence. It was supposed that Charles would see them himself, but they were again led forth by the soldiers who guarded them, and taken to the lodgings of Granvelle and the bishop of Arras. These functionaries employed every argument in their power to persuade them to accept the decree. It was in vain. As a last resource, Frecht, the principal protestant minister at Ulm, was taken aside, and urged by promises and even flattery to submit to the Emperor's will. Frecht was not less resolved than his brethren, and the rest being recalled, two only were found whom the dread of punishment sufficiently affected to induce them to acknowledge the legality of the Interim. The others were immediately seized, heavily chained, and conducted to the public prison. Frecht, as he passed his own house, saw his brother at the window, and making a signal, entreated him to take care of his wife and children. The answer was dictated equally by brotherly feeling and indignation at the injustice perpetrated against so many useful and virtuous men. It exhorted the prisoners to persevere in the holy cause to which they had devoted themselves, but no sooner was it uttered, than the speaker was himself apprehended, and conducted with the rest to the common goal.*

Such were the incidents which marked the progress of the Emperor from Augsburg to the Rhine. The people of Constance were, in the meantime, exposed to all the horrors of a siege and general proscription. A similar fate awaited Magdeburg, and the senate of Strasburg saw reason to expect at least an

A. D. 1549.

* They were kept in prison seven months; and on being set at liberty, were compelled to pay for the food and lodging with which they had been entertained.—Sleidan, t. III., liv. xxi., p. 26.

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equal share of the Emperor's indignation. Under these circumstances it was at length induced to address him in more conciliatory terms than those hitherto offered. The bishop of Strasburg was employed on the side of Charles to negotiate the affair. He was a man of kind and amiable disposition. This left room for many delays; but in the end three churches were given up to the prelate, and in these the rites of the Roman Church or those prescribed by the Interim might be uninterruptedly performed.*

Paul III. died on the 10th of November, and was succeeded by the Cardinal del Monte, who assumed the name of Julius III. Deeply versed in the arts which seemed necessary to support the interests of Rome, at this period, he possessed claims on the sacred college which it was impossible to overcome. But even the party which he led and flattered beheld with regret the elevation of a man in whom they knew no confidence could be placed, and whose skill as a bold and crafty politician was but a bad substitute for the virtues of which he was destitute.†

The Emperor rightly judged that the accession of a new Pontiff would probably so far change the policy of Rome, that the re-assembling of the council at Trent might be looked for, and that he would thereby be enabled to effect, with less danger and anxiety, his own measures in Germany. To prepare the way for future operations, he summoned, in July, a diet at

A. D. 1550.

* Bucer had been just before invited by Cranmer to England. The aspect of affairs induced the senate to give him permission to leave them. Few circumstances could indicate more strongly the low condition of the German Protestants at this period.

‡ Schmidt. Geschichte der Deutchen, t. VI., b. i. The character of Paul III. rendered his memory dear to most of the zealous defenders of the Church. He is described as "Clarissimæ Memoriæ princeps; ut qui urbem Romam non ornaverat modo, sed pene ad vitam revocaverat; quippe cujus vix ille cadaver direptione deformatum nactus fuerat. Ecclesiasticam ditionem bellis prius devastatam restauraverat: Senatum Vaticanum viris ætatis suæ longe præstantissimis cohonestaverat: arma sæpius moverat adversus Christi hostes, Catholico sanguine a se numquam respersa: inchoaverat, diuque promoverat concilium, ex obstaculis per arduum ex rebus in eo agitatis amplissimum, et ad reparandam disciplinam prævalidum inter reliqua, quæ unquam in Ecclesia coaluissent. Immoderato suam erga stirpem amore se hominem prodidit; de reliquo herois nomen apud Ecclesiam meritus est. Pallavicini, lib. XI., c. vi., p. 79.

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Augsburg, and in the opening address strongly urged the necessity of the decree which had been passed in the preceding diet, the continuation of the council, and the punishment of those who had ventured to resist his will.

It was now that Maurice began to indicate that hesitation in his feelings which in a short time was to assume the more formidable character of decided hostility. Not personally present at the diet, his deputies stated, that he could not consent to propose the continuance of the council, unless the things which had been already decreed were subjected to a rigid examination: that he also required, as another condition, that the divines of the confession of Augsburg should have the liberty of freely supporting their doctrines in the assembly; that they should have the right of voting; that the Pope should be obliged to submit to the council, and not possess the presidency; and that the bishops should be set free from their oaths, in order that there might be no restraint upon their expression of opinion.

This protest was made in vain, and the Emperor obtained, both from the diet and the new Pope, whatever he desired respecting the continuance of the council. The necessity of this measure became more evident every day. It was explicitly declared, by several of the deputies assembled in the diet, that, notwithstanding all the efforts that had been employed to establish the Interim, vast bodies of the people still remained obstinately opposed to its injunctions. This, it was said, might be accounted for by the length of time which had now elapsed since the first planting of the reformed doctrines. Ideas on the subject of religion were not easily changed; and all that could be done was patiently to diffuse instruction, and to convince men of their error when they supposed that the precepts of the Interim were contrary to scripture. To proceed by any other method, it was added, or to attempt to obtain the people's assent by force, would be only to provoke rebellion. Whenever an attempt was made to compel the preachers to speak in favour of the decrees, the churches were immediately deserted, and scarcely any

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could be found who did not refuse to defend the celebacy of the clergy, and the administration of the communion under one kind.* Others, again, observed, that the existence of numerous schools and colleges in which the youth of the country were badly taught, the poverty and evil character of a large portion of the ecclesiastics, and the constant circulation of libels and satires, might be regarded as contributing materially to this wretched state of the popular mind.

The siege of Magdeburg was conducted by Maurice, and the progress of the war, distressing as were its consequences from the beginning, threatened in the end to involve the neighbouring districts in frightful confusion and misery. "We are guilty of no crime," said the people, "but that of resolving not to embrace the idolatry of the Pope." It was not till much blood had been shed that tranquillity was restored. Many concessions were demanded; but the protestant ministers persevered to the last in asserting that they had never ceased to teach the people their duty; and that in regard to the council, it was assembled to destroy the truth; had the Roman Antichrist for its sole authority; and only presented itself, therefore, to their view, as an assembly which, instead of deserving their prayers, called for reprobation and contempt. This firmness on the part of the clergy did much for the people. They retained a large portion of their religious liberty; and the world, it is said, looked with astonishment at the fact, that this single city was almost the only spot in Germany which had openly, and to a great degree successfully, opposed the tyranny of the Romanists and the Emperor.

While such was the general course of events, both the deposed elector, John Frederic, and the landgrave of Hesse, were still suffering all the inconveniences of confinement. The former bore his misfortunes with calmness and resignation. He

A. D. 1551.

* Michael Helding, bishop of Merseburg, informed the Emperor that the preachers of Saxony created him incalculable uneasiness by their constant resistance to the Interim. A mere formal submission was not likely to change the deep-rooted sentiments of a large and influential body of men.—Schmidt. Geschichte der Deutchen, t. vi., b. i., c. xii., p. 143.

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had long taught himself to look beyond the present world for the nourishment of hope; and, oppressed as he was by the recollection of the sorrows suffered by his wife and children, he seems never to have been subject to those paroxysms of grief, to those sudden emotions of anger, which rendered the landgrave's hours of confinement so entirely wretched. For the latter, both Maurice and the elector of Brandeburg ceased not to make applications to the Emperor. He had been carried by his Spanish guards into the Netherlands, and was at present a close prisoner in the town of Mechlin. During his abode in that place he had concerted a plan of escape. Post horses had been prepared by his friends; and the line of communication so well preserved, that it was thought it would be easy to convey him, in a brief period, beyond the reach of his enemies. The plot was discovered by one of his servants, who, unable to contain his joy at the prospect of seeing his master happy, suffered his affectionate zeal to destroy the whole plan. "He will soon," said he, resenting some affront lately put upon the landgrave, "be out of your hands." These words were at once reported to the captain of the guard, and the unfortunate prince was placed under a severer watch than before. When the messengers of Maurice and the elector of Brandeburg, appealed to the Emperor, at the close of the year, in favour of the prisoner, they employed a language which had evidently derived force, and even a degree of sternness, from the harshness with which he had been treated. Having recapitulated the circumstances of his sad history, they spoke in the strongest manner of the responsibility incurred by those who had pledged their word that he should not continue in captivity. To the arguments thus urged they added letters from several princes, and even from King Ferdinand himself, entreating his imperial majesty to lend a favourable ear to the present application.

The answer of Charles was cautious, and evidently framed with the desire of satisfying the petitioners, without conveying any positive assurance that their re-

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quest should be granted.* One of the sons of the landgrave visited Maurice a few days after. He reminded the elector of his responsibility, and in the course of the interview described in melancholy terms the hourly decline of his father, and the accumulating miseries of his captivity. Such representations, urged with all the pathos of filial grief, could not fail to inflame the mind of Maurice with fresh indignation at the conduct of Charles. However culpable he had been in too readily trusting the landgrave to his enemy, he was free, it may be believed, from any suspicion that so much distress would follow the arrangement which he had mainly contributed to promote. But his part was already taken. Disappointment, anger, and disgust, mingled with the elements of private ambition to incite him to plead the landgrave's cause in a manner little expected by the Emperor. To all appearance, Charles gave less heed to the dispositions which occasionally showed themselves in the new elector than might have been expected from so politic a prince. Reports frequently reached him which were calculated to excite suspicion; but they seemed unworthy of notice, while Maurice agreed to most of the plans which chiefly interested him, and even consented to send deputies to the council, and was leading others by his example to afford a hearing to the fathers of that assembly.

This last-named circumstance was regarded not only by the Emperor but by the court of Rome as affording a cheering promise of the downfal of the reformers. The deputies of Maurice arrived at Trent on the 7th of January.† They were followed by those of the Duke of Wirtemberg, and their reception by the bishops, and the imperial ambassadors, clearly betokened the importance attached to the event. It was difficult, after such a proceeding, for Charles to believe

A. D. 1552.

* Sleidan, t. III.

† Maurice pursued his plans on the principle that there are political situations in which any species of deceit may be justified. Christian holiness, Christian uprightness at once expresses its abhorrence of such a course of action. It is remarkable, however, that he was able to succeed with a man like the Emperor.—Schmidt. Geschichte der Deutchen, t. VI., c. xvi., p. 187.

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any allegations against the loyalty of Maurice. But he might have remembered that he had now to treat with a man as ready to employ the wiles of politics as himself. The appearance, moreover, of protestant deputies at the Council of Trent was better calculated to deceive a few eager and self-confident ecclesiastics than persons of experience in the ways of courts. While the utmost caution had been employed, by the princes who sent them, to prevent their being exposed to any violence, they were also evidently instructed to take no part in the council which could even remotely compromise the interests of Protestantism. The demands made by the envoys, and before the arrival of the divines appointed to support them, were bold and general. "We must have," said they, "a safe conduct for our brethren, in all respects like that accorded to the Bohemians at the Council of Basil: nothing further must be done till their arrival; and when they take their place in the assembly, whatever has been done in former sittings of the council must be submitted to revisal. Still further, we insist, that the representatives of other nations may be admitted freely to the assembly, and that the Pope be not regarded as its president.*

But while it was clear that these demands, reasonable as they were, would be either evaded, or rejected with open contempt, the absolute necessity of the first was proved by the very effort made to defeat it. When the protestant deputies applied to the ambassadors on the subject, and informed them that the theologians who were expected had arrived within a few days' journey of the city, they at length obtained a sight of the safe conduct, on the validity of which, in reality, were to depend the lives or liberty of many of the most eminent of their countrymen. The examination of this instrument convinced them that they ought to remit none of their caution.

* The tone in which the deputies generally spoke may be understood from expressions used by the bishop of Orense to the bishop of Arras. "It seems to me," says he, "that the envoys of Duke Maurice of Saxony, and those of the Duke of Wirtemberg, have uttered things to-day on the subject of reformation which we ourselves dare not. Among many bad passages there were so many good ones, that they acted wisely in taking the precaution not to let the people hear them."—Lettres et Memoires de Vargas, p. 468.

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On comparing it with the safe conduct given to the Bohemians, they found it different in some very material points. By the former, the strangers were expressly allowed to have a decisive voice, and controversies were to be determined by an appeal to scripture, to the well-ascertained practice of the antient Church, to the councils, and such interpreters as were acknowledged to have written according to the spirit of the Bible. They were still further to enjoy the privilege of having service performed among them agreeably to the customs of their Church; and to be protected from any kind of interruption or insult. But in the safe conduct now prepared for the protestant divines, none of these particulars were named, except the second, which was expressed in language so ambiguous that it had entirely lost its force.

The objections made by the deputies produced an angry reply on the part of Francis de Toledo, who insisted that they were too exact and suspicious, and that they ought to leave the points which related to the decision of controversies to be settled among the theologians themselves. To this it was answered, that the instructions given were definite, and that no safe conduct would be accepted but such a one as agreed in all respects with that of Basil. The deputies of the Duke of Wirtemberg and those of Maurice continued to persist in this reply; and when called before the fathers of the council, as well as the ambassadors, did not shrink from declaring, "that the worship and attendant ceremonies which took place in the churches of papists, were not properly religion, but rather a mask, and mere shadow of devotion."

Several days passed away before any further information was given respecting the safe conduct. The deputy of Strasburg * sought for an explanation of the delay; and soon after the envoys were desired to attend the ambassador in order to receive the necessary instruments. Francis de Toledo treated them with more than ordinary civility, and putting an exact copy of the document into the hands of each, requested them to hasten

* This was John Sleidan himself, the faithful historian of the times in which he lived.—T. III., liv. xxiii., pp. 131, 156.

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the arrival of their associates. The deputies having retired to peruse the writing, found, to their surprise, that no attention had been paid to their remonstrances, and that the points on which they had insisted with so much earnestness were still passed over. A long conversation followed, and it was at length agreed, that the several princes should be applied to for fresh instructions. This was done, but a few weeks only elapsed when intelligence was brought that Maurice was in arms against the Emperor, and that the city of Augsburg had already opened its gates to his troops. General confusion prevailed in the council at this alarming news. The German bishops hastily prepared for their departure. They were speedily followed by those of Italy. The deputies employed the authority of their safe conduct to escape the solicitations or commands of the ambassadors; and Trent was soon left almost deserted.

CHAP. VII.

COUNCIL OF TRENT: TREATY OF PASSAU: DIET OF AUGSBURG: CLOSE OF THE COUNCIL.

THE proceedings of the council, while these events were in progress, had exhibited striking proofs of the unsettled character of the times. On its removal from Trent to Bologna, fifteen of the fathers remained behind, resolved to support, if possible, the authority of the assembly as originally constituted, and to defeat, by the countenance of the Emperor, the usurpations of the Roman court against the legitimate rights and powers of Christian bishops. The translation to Bologna was viewed, at first, as the certain triumph of the Pope, and he expressed himself, in full consistory, as sensible of the vast advantages which must thence arise. But the triumph was momentary, as well in feeling as in reality. He soon began to perceive that the step which had been taken would involve him in disputes not to be easily

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settled; and that just in proportion to the degree of personal influence which he might exercise at Bologna would be the resistance to his control on the part of the Emperor, the whole body of the Spanish bishops, and, more than ever, the powerful section of Germany which cherished the principles of Protestantism.

So many difficulties were plainly opposed to the operations of the council at Bologna, that on the opening of the session, in the month of April 1547, it was prorogued till June, and then again to the 15th of September. Some matters of trifling importance were transacted in the interval, and the fathers looked with impatience to the day appointed for resuming their deliberations. But before the time arrived, the Cardinal del Monte collected the prelates around him, and exposing the true state of affairs, convinced them that it would be for the good of the Church, and its head, to defer the business of the council to a still more distant period.

The proceedings at Bologna being thus suspended, little more was thought of its continuation till the Emperor saw himself triumphant over the Protestants. He then sent two of his most distinguished lawyers to the council, and demanded the return of the fathers to Trent. But his efforts, we have seen, were ineffectual; and it was not till the accession of Julius III. that hopes might again be entertained of the re-assembling of the council under more favourable circumstances. The new Pontiff had, before his elevation, bound himself, in common with the other cardinals, to employ his influence in this important matter. When the ambassadors of the Emperor arrived at Rome to congratulate him on his accession, the re-assembling of the council was spoken of as a subject already settled, and Charles, it is said, sought to show his gratitude by the immediate adoption of a severer and more effective system for the suppression of whatever might seem offensive to the Roman court.*

On the 4th of March, 1551, a consistory was held in which Julius appointed as his chief legate and repre-

* Fleury, t. VIII., art. ix., liv. cxlvi., p. 349.

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sentative at Trent the Cardinal Marcellus Crescentio, who had long been in favour of the return of the council to that city.* The archbishop of Siponte, Sebastian Piglieri, and the bishop of Verona, Louis Lippoman, were chosen as his companions in the high office of directing the movements of the assembly. On the 1st of May the council was re-opened with the accustomed solemnities. The cathedral had remained in the same state in which it was at the removal of the fathers to Bologna, and nothing seemed wanting to the immediate commencement of the discussions. But it was found necessary to defer the actual business of the council to the following session, which was to be held in September. The affair of the protestant deputies presented new difficulties, and required no less cautious management than any of the subjects the hazardous nature of which had been long foreseen. But the real force of these obstacles was not yet apprehended; and the thirteenth session being commenced on the 11th of October, the form of a decree respecting the Eucharist was presented to the fathers for their examination and approval.

In substance, this decree set forth, that the council intended to declare thereby, "that pure doctrine which the catholic Church had always taught and which it would continue to teach to the end of time." The statement then follows, "that, after the consecration of the bread and wine, our Lord Jesus Christ, who is verily God and man, is really and substantially under the species of these sensible things; that it is a criminal and horrible attempt to endeavour to give to the words whereby he instituted this sacrament a metaphorical meaning, and that the Church, which is the pillar of the truth, abhors this invention as impious and diabolical, and thankfully preserves the memory of the benefit conferred as the most excellent of the gifts of Christ."

Having alluded to the time when the Eucharist was instituted, the authors of the decree continue to observe, "It is by this sacrament that our Saviour diffuses all the riches of his love; therein the wonders of his grace

* Paolo Sarpi, t. I., liv. iii., p. 561.

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are continually presented to our contemplation, and he has taught us thereby to announce his death, and to partake of it as the spiritual nourishment of our souls; as imparting to them of his own life, for 'he who eateth me shall also live by me.' He has made it the pledge of our eternal happiness, and the symbol of the unity of that body of which he is the head. The most holy Eucharist has this in common with the other sacraments. It is the symbol of something sacred, and a visible sign of an invisible grace. But it has also this wonderful and excellent peculiarity. The other sacraments have no force or sanctifying virtue but in the actual reception thereof; whereas, in the Eucharist, the author of the holiness is himself present, and that before it is received. The Church of God has always believed, that, after the consecration, the true body and soul of our Lord Jesus Christ, with his soul and his divinity, are present under the form of bread and wine." *

The real presence being thus asserted, it is next stated, "that both the one and the other kind contains as much as the two together; for that Jesus Christ is all entire under the species of bread, and under the smallest particle of that species, as well as under the species of wine, and the least portion of it. The Church has also always held, and the holy council now again declares, that the bread and wine, by consecration, is truly changed and converted from the substance of bread into the substance of the body of our Lord; and from the substance of the wine into the substance of his blood; which change has been properly described by the holy Catholic Church under the term 'Transubstan-

* Nondum enim Eucharistiam de manu Domini apostoli susceperant, cùm vere tamen ipse affirmaret corpus suum esse quod præbebat; et semper hæc fides in Ecclesia Dei fuit, statim post consecrationem verum Domini nostri corpus, verumque ejus sanguinem sub panis et vini specie unà cum ipsius anima et divinitate existere; sed corpus quidem sub specie panis, et sanguinem sub vini specie, ex vi verborum, ipsum autem corpus sub specie vini, et sanguinem sub specie panis, animamque sub utraque, vi naturalis illius connexionis et concomitantiæ, qua partes Christi Domini, qui jam ex mortuis resurrexit non amplius moriturus, inter se copulantur, divinitatem porrò propter admirabilem illam ejus cum corpore et anima hypostaticam unionem. Quapropter verissimum est, tantumdem sub alterutra specie, atque sub utraque contineri. Totus enim et integer Christus sub panis specie et sub quavis ipsius speciei parte totus item sub vini specie, et sub ejus partibus existit.—Con. Trident. Canones et Decreta, sessio XIII., c. iii.

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tiation. All believers are bound to worship the holy sacrament with the worship due to God. For we believe that the same God is present there whom the angels were ordered to adore when he entered into the world; the God whom the magi adored, worshipping at his feet; the God whom the apostles adored in Galilee."*

The more important doctrines of the Eucharist being thus declared, mention is next made of the several rites instituted in its honour. "A custom," says the decree, "has been introduced into the Church which ought to be regarded as of great use and sanctity. It is that of setting apart a particular day to the glory of this august and adorable sacrament, and in which it may be treated with due veneration and solemnity, and be carried in procession through the streets and public places, with respect and pomp. The practice, again, of keeping the holy Eucharist in a consecrated vessel is so antient that it has been known from the time of the Council of Nice. It is now also ordered, that the holy and necessary custom of carrying the sacrament to the sick be continued, a practice both just and reasonable, and known to the Church in the earliest periods."

After giving a solemn warning respecting the danger of approaching a rite so holy while sin reigns in the heart, the penitent is warned that his private sorrow is not sufficient to prepare him for the communion. It is necessary that his approach to the altar be preceded by a sacramental confession. The mode of receiving, is then spoken of. "Our fathers," says the decree, "wisely distinguished the manner in which different men partake of the Eucharist. Some receive it no otherwise than sacramentally; such are they who approach it in a state of sin. Others receive it only spiritually; these are persons who ardently desire this celestial bread, and prove its power by the presence of a lively faith which works by charity. But a third class there is, and it consists of those who receive it both sacramentally and spiritually, and approach the divine banquet in the nuptial robe." To this is added the exhortation of the council, in which it beseeches, and with paternal affec-

* Con. Trident. Canones et Decreta, sessio XIII., c. V.

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tion, and by the bowels of Jesus Christ, conjures all who bear the name of Christians, to unite with each other in this sign of peace, in this bond of charity, in this symbol of concord; to remember without ceasing the wondrous love of the Saviour, who gave us his flesh to eat, and suffered death for our salvation; to believe the sacred mystery of his body and blood with a faith so steadfast, a respect so profound, a piety so great, that they may always be in a fit state to receive the heavenly food; to be nourished by its virtue; so that they may thereby be prepared to pass from this earthly sojourn to a heavenly country, where they shall eat, without the veil, that food of angels which now they can only partake of under the covering of the sacred mysteries.

The received doctrine of the Roman Church having been thus carefully stated, it was further observed, that it is not sufficient for us to know the truth, unless we are at the same time guarded against the errors which have been published under its name. Following, therefore, the plan adopted on former occasions, canons were added to the decree, and in these the heresies of the reformers were distinctly set forth and condemned. The nature of the anathemas may be understood from what has been said respecting the decree itself; and we may pass to the statement of doctrine made in the fourteenth session, held on the 25th of November. This chiefly regarded the sacrament of penance, and it was observed, that, "if all those who have been regenerated by baptism were to remain in the righteousness conferred upon them by that sacrament, no other would have been needed for the remission of sins. But God, who is rich in mercy, knowing our weakness, has thought it good to provide the means of recovery for those who since baptism have yielded themselves up to sin and the power of the devil. This remedy is the sacrament of penance, by which the benefits of the death of Christ are applied to those who have thus offended against their baptismal vows. Penance was always necessary to those who desired to recover the peace of God; but before the coming of Jesus Christ it was not a sacrament, and it is now such for those only who have received baptism.

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Our Lord more distinctly instituted it as a sacrament, when, having arisen from the dead, he said, "Receive ye the Holy Spirit; whosesoever sins ye remit they are remitted."*

Such being the supposed authority for giving to penance the title of a sacrament, the council could not but condemn those who refuse to acknowledge, that Jesus Christ intended by the above words to communicate to his apostles, and their successors, the power of remitting and retaining sins committed since baptism, or who wish to understand them as simply bestowing the right to preach the word of God, and to announce the gospel of Jesus Christ.

A distinction is then drawn between baptism and penance. It is evident, observed the fathers, that they are alike in neither form nor matter. In penance, the priest exercises the office of a judge, which is not the case in baptism, since the Church, according to the apostle, has no jurisdiction over those who have not yet been baptized. Again, by penance we cannot obtain that entire and perfect renewal which takes place in baptism, unless by many tears, and those painful works which the justice of God requires; so that the holy fathers have properly described it as a laborious baptism.† Respecting the form of penance, it is said to be contained in the words of absolution pronounced by the priest; while the matter of the sacrament consists of the contrition, the confession and the satisfaction of the penitent. Its effect is his reconciliation to God, which is usually followed, it is said, in persons of ardent temperament by great internal peace and spiritual consolations.

The attention of the fathers was especially directed to the minute statement of their views on the place which

* John xx., 22, 23.

† Per baptismum enim Christum induentes, nova prorsùs in illo efficimur creatura, plenam et integram peccatorum omnium remissionem consequentes: ad quam tamen novitatem et integritatem per sacramentum pœnitentiæ, sine magnis nostris fletibus et laboribus, divina id exigente justitiâ, pervenire nequaquam possumus: ut meritò pœnitentia laboriosus quidam baptismus à sanctis patribus dictus fuerit. Est autem hoc sacramentum pœnitentiæ lapsis post baptismum ad salutem necessarium, ut nondum regeneratis ipse baptismus.—Canones et Decreta, sessio xiv., c. ii.

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contrition was to occupy in the reconciling of penitents. It is properly the first of his acts, and comprehends a deep, internal sorrow for sin, with the earnest resolution to offend no more. It is, they added, more than a mere ceasing from sin, and commencing of a new course, it is marked by a true hatred of the past life of iniquity. Some controverted points were touched upon in speaking on the subject of fear, and it is remarkable that the fathers of the council should have so frequently entered upon questions which would expose their decrees, not more to the proper arguments of adverse theologians, than to the minute and metaphysical criticisms of mere objectors. The course thus pursued might sometimes, perhaps, be adopted, or at least allowed, for no other purpose than that of confining the discussion to matters of little practical importance; but for the most part it appears really to have been dictated by the notion, that it was as necessary to mark the minutest divisions, the nicest shades of human sentiment, as to determine the correct meaning of a scriptural statement. Nothing can be more striking than the frequent recurrence of metaphysical argument in the debates of the council; and argument employed with far too great a degree of both earnestness and ability to justify our imputing the zeal which put it forth to pride or hypocrisy. These bad principles might, with all probability, be fairly laid to the charge of those who determined the greater movements of the assembly; but many of the members who took a leading part in the discussions had little to do with the management of the affairs which concerned the politics of the council. They reasoned, therefore, according to the dictates of their understanding and their conscience; and the result was a complicated and laborious effort to determine and explain mysteries which, for the immediate objects of the meeting, needed only to be pointed at as embodied and exhibited in some simple article of the creed. The council, in reality, ought not to have regarded itself as responsible for explaining the principles on which belief is founded, or through which holiness is becoming and profitable to man. Its proper business was with the positive statements of scrip-

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ture. When it departed from this, it offended, in the first place, against the supremacy of divine revelation, and the just remonstrances of the Protestants; and, in the next, it departed, in an almost equal degree, from the path which it was safest for it to pursue, as representing a Church which desired nothing more than the simple defence of its rights and dogmas against an inquiring age.

Extreme unction formed the subject of another part of the decree. It was described as the consummation of penitence, of the Christian life in general, which ought to be but a continual penance. Our Lord, in his infinite goodness, did not restrict his mercy to the providing of powerful succours in the other sacraments; to the supply of means whereby we may overcome our enemies in the journey of life. He desired to strengthen us in the end by the sacrament of extreme unction; and this, because there is no time in which the foe is more ready to exercise his power against us, or makes greater efforts to destroy our souls, and deprive us of our confidence in the mercy of God. This sacred unction of the sick was established, it is said, by our Lord Jesus Christ, as a true sacrament of the New Testament. The authority of St. James and St. Mark is alleged in proof of this assertion, and the rite is then described according to the usual scholastic definition, comprehending the matter, the form, and the effect. Of these, the first consists of the oil, previously blessed by the bishop; the second, of the words pronounced at the anointing; the third, in the cleansing of the penitent from the remains of sin, or from sin itself, if any should exist for which no expiation had yet been offered; in the comforting and strengthening of his soul by inspiring him with great confidence in the mercy of God, and which may help him more easily to bear his pains, to resist the temptations of Satan, and sometimes even to recover health, when such a restoration is profitable to the soul.

Fifteen canons on the sacrament of penance, and four on that of extreme unction, accompanied these decrees, and anathemas were solemnly pronounced against those who denied the name or character of sacraments to these

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several ordinances; who confounded that of penance with baptism, or pretended that the words of our Saviour, "Whosesoever sins ye remit, they are remitted," referred only to the general declaration of the gospel covenant in preaching. The same anathema was pronounced on those who denied that penance consists of three parts, that is, contrition, confession, and satisfaction, or who pretend that it consists but of the terrors of conscience agitated at the view of sin, and of the faith which teaches that those sins shall be remitted for Christ's sake. So also was another employed against those who believe that the contrition which arises from the examination and hatred of sin, and the fear of eternal damnation, with the resolution to lead a better life, disposes not to grace, but only renders a man hypocritical, and makes him a greater sinner than before.

Confession, and the power of the priest to absolve, formed the subject of several other anathemas, the curse being pronounced with great distinctness upon every one who erred in the slightest degree from what was declared to be the belief of the catholic Church. Such a course was inevitable, from the plans adopted by the council. It had ventured to discuss the minutest branches of scientific theology; and the discussions of an assembly which lays claims to infallibility could not be terminated but by definitions, decrees and anathemas. When treating of matters connected with the reformation of the Church, it arrived at decisions justified alike by good sense and the necessities of the times. But that which the sincerest friends of Rome complained of, was the room still left for the escape of powerful offenders, and the opportunities afforded to those who most needed correction, to atone for the want of real church worship by loud assertions of their loyalty to its chief, and readiness to contend for its honour and supremacy. The decree now passed consisted of fourteen articles, among which there were those which concerned the ordination of the clergy, the power of the bishops, and their relation to other authorities. Prelates complained, it is said, with justice, that the dispensations and permissions continually given by the court of Rome almost

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wholly destroyed the power of the bishops, and despoiled them of their dignity. In proof of this it was further observed, that when a bishop refused to confer orders on a person, or desired to suspend any of his clergy, for just and necessary causes, the court of Rome interfered, and received both the one and the other, granting them that which the bishop had refused, and thereby setting at nought every effort to promote order and discipline.*

A subject of this kind was fraught with danger, and was known to be so by the presidents of the council. They desired, therefore, that neither the Pope nor his officers might be named in the decrees respecting licenses and exemptions. By this request the council was led to nullify the most important of its functions; to humble itself before a mightier power; and confess that it was governed by another law, another principle than that of the plain and simple truth. The boon which the bishops required was granted only in the most limited degree; but they were obliged to confess themselves satisfied; and the decree of reformation, like so many other laws of a similar kind, however well conceived, however comprehensive and well fitted to improve the discipline of the Church and ecclesiastical manners, was made abortive by the dread entertained lest the papal throne might be deprived of some of its defences, the courtiers of the Vatican of some of their privileges. Not only were the champions of Rome continually on the watch lest any thing should be said or done contrary to the immunities of the Pope, but the ambassadors of the Spanish monarch were equally eager to silence any discussion which might possibly end in determinations offensive to their master.†

* Fleury. Paolo Sarpi.

† Vargas. The letter is dated 26th Nov. 1551, and is addressed to the bishop of Arras. "The despatches of his majesty were good. They contained the instructions I wished for. As soon as they were received, Don François de Toledo spoke to the legate. It would be too long to write what passed between them. Don Francis, I believe, will write. The legate, however, I will tell you, is always the same. He is a man lost to all shame. *Perfricuit frontem insigniter.* Believe me, I have not words sufficiently expressive to describe the pride and effrontery which he exhibits in the management of the council. As he finds we are timid, and that his majesty takes all possible care not to give vexation to the Pope, he endeavours to frighten us by speaking with haughtiness."—Lettres et Memoires, p. 207.

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Between the two powers it may be easily understood how little of real liberty even the most conscientious of the fathers could enjoy, while those who were, either by nature or circumstances, less likely to act with firmness and independence, could only appear in the character of men employed to advocate, against the common sense of Christendom, the interests, the follies and vices of the very vampires of the Church. An eye-witness, an actor in the scenes described, said plainly of himself and others, "We are in fact but dumb dogs, not daring to bark." The same writer, speaking of the legate Crescentio, describes him as a man lost altogether to shame. "He treats the bishops like slaves; when they oppose him, he threatens to leave them to themselves; and unless God should work a miracle to hinder it, the council will become utterly insignificant." Again: "I cannot tell you how overwhelmed I am with grief at beholding affairs in this state. The bishops are vexed and disgusted, and many of them feel that they are offending their consciences by remaining here any longer. Prayers and solicitations of every kind are employed to retain them, but nothing I believe will avail, unless the legate change his conduct."

These complaints were chiefly excited by the efforts made, on the part of the president, to support the claims of Rome to the revenues derived from the appointment to benefices. But it was confessed that every department of the Church was marked by corruptions, and the observer of what was continually taking place could not help remarking, respecting a full and efficient reform, "We must wait for a more favourable season; for the time when the Lord shall purify the sons of Levy. I sometimes think that this purification will be brought to pass by extraordinary chastisements. God, however, may offer other remedies, of more easy application, for the evils of the Church. Things are at present in a frightful state. The abuses which prevail are too trying. All the nerves of ecclesiastical discipline are broken. An infamous traffick is carried on with possessions that have been consecrated to God."

Having thus spoken on the opposition made to any

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effectual attempt in the way of reformation, the same writer alludes, in the next place, to the little hope there was of any fairer conduct in regard to the discussion of doctrine. "The Emperor," says he, "has sent hither many excellent theologians. The doctors of Louvain are respectable both for their knowledge and their piety. But they are not called to assist in the formation of the canons. This is remarked and complained of. Accomplished theologians, whom the council would have felt it a duty to summon from the farthest corners of the world, are only employed, from session to session, to dispute for a passing hour. They are then forgotten. With what fear, on the contrary, ought the council to proceed to the publishing of an article of faith; and even when nothing more is required than simply to declare what has been the judgment of the Church from early times? How much greater ought to be the care attending the publication of a canon? If the Pope and his ministers do not take better measures to appease the troubles of the Church and to heal its wounds, there will, in a little time, be nothing of it remaining. They have already lost provinces and kingdoms, through the numberless abuses which have been left unreformed; and they would willingly blind themselves to the danger of losing that little corner of the world which still remains faithful. The Church is reduced to these narrow boundaries, and even within them heresies abound, and enjoy power and credit. St. Paul's prediction approaches its accomplishment. 'That day shall not come, unless there come a falling away first.'* St. Anselm explains this passage of the Church of Rome, because of the abuses and vices which reign within it. May the Lord have pity upon us, and not punish our sins as they deserve."

Not content with this severe expression of discontent, he further says, "You see to what the Pope and his ministers expose the Church. We ought to look for nothing better than the overthrow of the whole edifice." The conduct of the legate towards those who ventured to

* 2 Thess. ii. 3.

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oppose his plans seems to have far exceeded, in open violence, any thing attempted by his predecessors. An instance is cited by Vargas, which well nigh roused the indignation of the council to the point where resentment ceases to be capable of compromise. The bishop of Verdun is represented as a man of great virtue and sincerity. He spoke, on one occasion, as the strong feelings of an honest mind prompted, and declared that the reformation proposed was more in pretence than in reality. This observation so enraged the legate that he turned upon the bishop, and uttered a volley of abuse which filled his hearers with equal anger and disgust. No one ventured, at first, to support the ill-treated prelate; but whispers passed to and fro among the fathers. The electors of Cologne and Treves meditated retiring after such an insult had been passed upon one of their associates. They are reported to have said, that the assembly was a council only to such an extent as it pleased the legate.

A more particular account of this matter is found in the memoir of another eye-witness, the bishop of Orense.* It was to this prelate the archbishop of Cologne addressed himself when first yielding to the impulse of indignant feeling. "Tell me the truth, bishop," he said; "do you think this council is free?" "My Lord," was the reply, "you ask me a question to which it is difficult to return an answer. I cannot reply at the moment. All I can now say is, that the council ought to be free." "Speak plainly," rejoined the elector; "do you see any liberty in the council?" "My Lord," answered the bishop, "I pray you not to press me upon the subject now: I will answer you in your own house." The elector, it is said, then turned to the archbishop of Mentz, and the two dignitaries conversed with each other in an under tone of voice, but with sufficient distinctness to let it be known that they

* Lettres et Memoires de Vargas. Memoire de l'Evêque d'Orense, p. 252. "I hope," says the writer, alluding to the coming session, "that the prelates; the electors, as well as others, will do all that his majesty wishes; but it must be acknowledged their spirits are very low. This may have sad consequences. The legate sees they entertain great deference for him."

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were severely censuring the conduct of which they had been witnesses.*

The news which reached Trent on the first movement of Maurice at the head of his troops was sufficient to justify the suspension of the debates in which the assembly was engaged. Whatever might have been the power of Rome in former days, it was evidently now dependent, in many respects, on the state and disposition of other authorities. There would have been something almost absurd in the attempts of a council to pass decrees which should regulate the faith of the world, while the mass of society and the Christian Church was being split into a hundred fragments. That they might be united again by the power of God's own spirit; that they might be made one again in the body of Jesus Christ, was the prayer of every sanctified mind. But that this re-union could be effected by the commands of an assembly which, from the beginning, owed its authority to a seeming unity which no longer existed; that it would be possible to persuade the world into bowing to a power which only a small section, it was said, now acknowledged as legitimate; this even the most devoted fathers of the council could scarcely believe; and when they persuaded the legates to suspend the proceedings, they acted with no less regard to the true interests of their Church than to the duty and propriety of the synod of which they formed a part. The sixteenth session was held for the mere purpose of adjournment, and, at the moment, we have seen, when the last hope had vanished from the Protestants of being able, with safety, to appear in the assembly. Twelve Spanish bishops alone endeavoured to prevent the passing of the decree; but they soon followed the example of their brethren, and made a hasty retreat from the place where it became every day more dangerous to linger. Such was the dread inspired by the report of the progress made by Maurice in the direction of Inspruck, that the cardinal Crescentio, who had been seized with a fatal illness, was left alone. His

A. D. 1552.

* Vargas. Lettres et Memoires. Fleury, t. VIII., art. ix., liv. cxlvii. n. 87.

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removal to Verona appears to have hastened his death, which took place on the 1st of June.*

Charles very narrowly escaped the hands of Maurice. The rapid movements of the prince deceived even the experience of a man who had spent his life in military manœuvres. France had leagued its forces with those of the protestant confederates; and the Emperor and his brother saw that the position of affairs rendered it absolutely necessary to enter into a treaty with this powerful and unexpected enemy. One of the immediate consequences of the success of Maurice was the release of John Frederic and the landgrave of Hesse. The treaty, which was concluded at Passau, embraced two other particulars of vast importance to the happiness of Germany, and the establishment of the reformed doctrines. It was demanded, on the one hand, that a careful examination should be instituted respecting whatever had taken place that might be considered prejudicial to the liberties of the country; and, on the other, that no one should be molested on account of his religion, while means were being employed to establish peace between the several parties on a just and durable foundation.† The caution and delay of the Emperor, when pressed by propositions comprehended in these general demands, was but in the ordinary spirit of his politics. On the conclusion of the treaty, the landgrave hastened home, rejoicing in his liberty, but exhibiting a mind altogether humbled and broken by the troubles to which he had been exposed. John Frederic had

* Some strange reports were in circulation at the time of his death. They mark the feeling of the times. He was writing, it is said, very late one night in his apartment, when, on rising to reach some refreshment, he thought he saw a black dog of extraordinary size enter his apartment. The red and glaring eyes of the animal, with his ears hanging to the ground, greatly alarmed the cardinal, and he shrunk back with horror as he beheld him coming near where he was sitting, and taking his place beneath the table. He was at first unable to speak, but, recovering himself a little, he called his domestics. When they entered the apartment, the dog was no longer to be seen. This filled the legate, it is said, with fresh terror, and he was from that time sunk in profound melancholy. When approaching his latter end, he frequently called to his domestics, says the report, to drive the dog from his bed.—Sleidan, t. III., liv. xxiii., p. 175.

† Ibid., t. III., liv. xxiv., p. 209. Schmidt. Geschichte der Deutchen, t. VI., c. xvi., p. 205.

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borne his sorrows meekly and with cheerful resignation; and his restoration to freedom afforded fresh opportunities for the display of his calm and dignified assurance that "all things work together for good to them that love God." Having been permitted by the Emperor, who latterly regarded him with great respect, to fortify the town of Gotha, he re-assumed the stile and arms of his electorate. Maurice beheld this with jealousy, and a negotiation was entered into to settle their several claims, but the affair presented insurmountable obstacles to an amicable arrangement. Maurice died the following year of a wound received in battle against Albert of Brandeburg, who had refused the treaty of Passau. John Frederic demanded of Augustus, the brother and successor of the deceased prince, the restitution of his states. The new elector denied the justice of such a claim, but the negotiations which followed secured to John Frederic the peaceable possession of the share of territory granted him for the support of his princely dignity. He died as he had lived, rejoicing in the gospel to the last; and declaring his full trust in the mercy of the Lord.* He had enjoyed his liberty but a short time, and even that period had been disturbed by the conflicts of those in whose reconciliation he was deeply interested. But he was comforted, at length, by seeing his family secured in the enjoyment of a territory and revenue which would save them from contempt in the eyes of other princes. His amiable consort, who had borne so willingly an equal share of his griefs, cherished from the first no other desire than that of beholding him once more in the circle of his beloved friends. It had been her frequent declaration, that she should die content if she could but once see him restored to freedom, and in health and peace. This was the constant subject of her prayers to heaven, and they were rarely offered up without abundance of sighs and tears.

A diet was summoned at Augsburg in February 1555,

* His death happened March 3, 1554, at Wymar, and eleven days after that of his wife. When they were preparing her tomb, he requested that the place might also be made ready for him, conscious, he said, that his own departure was nigh at hand. His consort was deserving of such a husband. Her piety was sober and fervent as his own.—Sleidan, t. III. liv. XXV. p. 269.

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for the final settlement of religion. The treaty of Passau contained the chief points to be insisted on by the friends of the Reformation. Of those who retained their hostility to any measure of accommodation, none was so fierce as Otto, cardinal bishop of Augsburg.* Happily, however, for the cause of peace, he was suddenly called to Rome to take part in the election of a new Pope. The discussions were terminated on the 25th of September, and thus was established the grand principle of religious toleration, and the yet grander truth, that the Bible is not only the source of spiritual knowledge, but is sufficient, when studied and adhered to, to separate from the world, and gather from the midst of vain and corrupt nations a peculiar people zealous for the honour of their Lord, devoted to good works, cultivating divine grace, obedient to the spirit, and re-uniting themselves to the only true catholic Church, the believers whose faith and holiness have made them one with Christ.

Many years of tranquillity were now to be looked for in Germany. But while these transactions were taking
A. D. 1562. place, Julius III. ended his anxious and ambitious career: two other Pontiffs passed over the stage in quick succession; and Pius IV. ascended the pontifical throne, to leave a name memorable for its superscription to the final decrees of the council. That assembly had been so long suspended, that hopes were entertained, by those who regarded it with little complaisance, that its proceedings might continue to be deferred, and that till the minds of men were rendered indifferent to their renewal. But the court of Rome discovered, at length, that these hopes were fallacious, and that it must still have recourse to the council, as its best defence against the interference of other powers with its extensive claims to authority in matters of faith and religious discipline. A bull of convocation was therefore published in November 1560, but it was not till the month of February 1562, that the first session, after the recess, that is, the eighteenth of the council, could be safely held.

* God is a God of unity, said the cardinal, and not of division.—Sleidan. Schmidt, t. vi., b. i., c. 20, p. 240.

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The most important measure proposed was the general reformation of the clergy, and the cardinals were boldly assailed as unworthily endeavouring to obtain an exemption from the rule proposed. "No," said the archbishop of Braga, "the very illustrious cardinals have need of a very illustrious reform." "The first thing which they want," he continued, "is to know how to treat the bishops, whose authority has been almost annihilated since this order of cardinals, unknown to the antient Church, has come into existence." On another occasion, the ambassador of the King of France addressed the assembly in a similar tone, exhorting it to establish a general reform, and the antient discipline, as the only means left for saving the Church from universal ruin. Little progress, however, was made in the real business of the council. The question of residence was discussed, but left undecided from month to month; and the Pope openly complained of the ambassadors who appeared at Trent, and especially of those of France, whose haughty demands savoured more of heresy than of fidelity to the Church, or anxiety for its safety and honour.* It was found necessary, on both sides, to quiet these disputes; and the discussions were allowed to proceed with better prospect of success. The Eucharist was again made the subject of inquiry, and the fathers were called upon to determine whether the communion received in one kind conferred as much grace as when received in both kinds. Most of the divines who took part in the debate insisted strongly that it was inexpedient and unwise to introduce such a question. The Council of Constance, it was remarked, had left it undetermined, and so it ought still to be. To prohibit the use of the cup by a formal decree could not fail to startle many who might have suffered the abuse to exist with a passive indifference to its effects. But the ambassadors of France, especially, insisted that the kings of their country had always enjoyed the privilege of communicating in both kinds, and that there were also several monasteries in the nation, the members of which claimed the same right.

A decree was at length presented to the assembly, and,

* Fleury, t. VIII., art. xi., liv. clix., n. 35.

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according to this, it was resolved, that the communion in both kinds was not founded on a divine command; that the Church had, for just and reasonable causes, determined not to give the cup to the laity, or to the clergy when not engaged in celebrating the sacrament; that Jesus Christ was received entire under each kind; and that, with regard to the effect of the Eucharist, those who received it under but one kind were not deprived of any grace necessary to salvation. The number of bishops now present at the council amounted to a hundred and fifty-seven. No less than a hundred theologians also were found in the assembly; and, besides the ambassadors, there were near two thousand other persons who had admission to the meeting held on the 21st of July. But numerous as the assemblage was, and fitted as it seemed to determine matters of the greatest difficulty, the chief point in debate, whether, that is, the laity ought to be allowed the cup in the sacrament, was referred to the decision of the Pope.

An effort was made at this time to obtain the prorogation of the meeting, that time might be allowed for the arrival of the Cardinal of Lorraine, who was said to be on the road with a numerous cortege of the most eminent of the French bishops and theologians. But the legates successfully opposed this desire of the ambassadors, and the twenty-second session was held on the 17th of September, when a decree was published respecting the mass, declaring it to be a true sacrifice, the same as that which was offered on the cross,* but offered now

* Et quoniam in divino hoc sacrificio, quod in missa peragitur, idem ille Christus continetur, et incruente immolatur, qui in ara crucis semel seipsum cruente obtulit; docet sancta synodus, sacrificium istud vere propitiatorium esse, per ipsumque fieri, ut, si cum vero corde, et recta fide, cum metu et reverentia, contriti ac pœnitentes ad Deum accedamus, misericordiam consequamur, et gratiam inveniamus in auxilio opportuno. Hujus quippe oblatione placatus Dominus, gratiam et donum pœnitentiæ concedens, crimina et peccata, etiam ingentia, dimittit. Una enim eademque est hostia, idem nunc offerens sacerdotum ministerio, qui seipsum tunc in cruce obtulit, solà offerendi ratione diversà. Cujus quidem oblationis, cruentæ, inquam, fructus per hanc uberrimè percipiuntur: tantùm abest, ut illi per hanc quovis modo derogetur. Quare non solum pro fidelium vivorum peccatis, pœnis, satisfactionibus, et aliis necessitatibus, sed et pro defunctis in Christo nondùm ad plenum purgatis, ritè, juxta Apostolorum traditionem, offertur. — Concilii Trident. Canones et Decret. cap. ii., p. 145. Parisiis, 1832.

Unum itaque et idem sacrificium esse fatemur et haberi debet, quod in

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by the ministry of the priests, differing from that of the cross merely in the manner of its being offered, having still the nature of a true propitiatory sacrifice, provided not only for the living but the dead.* Other points are

missa peragitur et quod in cruce oblatum est, quemadmodum una et eadem hostia, Christus videlicet Dominus noster, qui seipsum in ara crucis semel tantummodo cruentum immolavit. Neque enim cruenta et incruenta hostia duæ sunt hostiæ, sed una tantum, cujus sacrificium, post quam Dominus ita præcepit: Hoc facite in meam commemorationem, in Eucharistia quotidie instauratur.—Catechismus Con. Trident., p. 208, Par. 1831.

* The reader will do well to consult, on this important subject, the answer of Dr. Turton, the present regius professor of divinity at Cambridge, to Dr. Wiseman. The latter, as one of the most ingenious and eloquent expounders of Roman Catholic doctrine, may be taken as an authority on the subject. Dr. Turton's extensive erudition and great powers of argument place his work among the most valuable contributions to the reformed Church, both of this and other nations. He observes, on the general nature of the argument, "Christianity was, by divine appointment, founded on miracles; that is, on events, of the truth of which the senses of men were the judges. I should therefore, beforehand, deem it very improbable that the religion, so founded on the testimony of the senses, would contain any thing, relating to objects of the senses, which could not be believed, but in contradiction to the senses; because in that case the religion would have the appearance of undermining the ground upon which it had to rest. The least, however, that could be expected in such a case, would be, that there should be no ambiguity, no doubt of the point being designed to be a matter of faith. Again, on a survey of the New Testament, we find sensible objects made, so to speak, the elements of divine knowledge; earthly things, the steps to heavenly things. As an external revelation, therefore, Christianity, from first to last, arrives at the understanding and the affections by means of those faculties which give us intelligence of the processes of nature. In other words, for the establishment of Christianity, several of the laws of nature underwent a temporary suspension, in the presence of those who were sufficiently acquainted with them to know that they were suspended; and our Lord, in his instructions, availed himself of that ordinary intelligence, which he knew that the people possessed, of natural appearances. Under these circumstances, we ask for the text in which we are required to believe something affirmed of material objects, in contradiction to the evidence of the senses; and we are referred to a passage, in which our Lord, just before his crucifixion, is instituting a rite to be observed, in remembrance of him, by his disciples then present, and by the faithful to the end of time. Without again reciting particulars familiar to every one, we are, it is alleged, there required to believe that the bread and the wine which our Lord presented as his body and his blood, and which to every sense capable of distinguishing one thing from another still continued to be bread and wine, were really converted into the material body and blood of Christ. Now this does appear to be in itself the very grossest conception that ever entered into the mind of man; a notion of such a character as to make almost every other extravagance of opinion look, on comparison, contemptibly small. A true account of the rise and progress of the doctrine would form a curious chapter in the history of human nature. But let that pass. The strange doctrine now treated of can be deduced, from the words referred to, solely by the most rigorously literal interpretation which it is possible to apply to any passage whatever: a mode of interpretation which can seldom be applied to our Lord's discourses, without extracting meanings which no sane mind can suppose to have been intended. On the contrary, by interpreting the words

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stated in the same decree; and the canon of the mass having been declared very antient, the mode of celebration is represented as properly established by the long usage of the Roman Church. Nine canons were appended to the decree, and anathemas pronounced against those who contradicted any of the principles involved in that rule of faith. To the whole was added a solemn exhortation addressed to the clergy, and entreating them to remember, that, as there is no act of religion so awful as that venerable mystery in which the vivifying sacrifice, which reconciles us to God, is offered up day by day, so ought those who are concerned therein to exhibit an inward purity of heart, and an outward piety of conduct, proper to a function so holy and divine. This exhortation, conceived in language of great force and beauty, was fitly followed by the decree of reformation, which founded its several demands on the indisputable fact, that nothing is so well adapted to lead men to piety and good works as the holy and edifying lives of those who have professedly consecrated themselves to the service of heaven.

That a want of sincerity was suspected in some of these manifestations of zeal for reform, may be clearly deduced from the earnest remonstrances of the King of France.* Plain it is, that the princes who opposed the Pope at different stages of the council, were not, in many cases, to be regarded as more sincerely devoted than himself, or his court, to the real interests of the Church of Christ. But it is not always that the worldly conceal the truth.

conformably to what was obviously designed for common apprehension—in short, as the general tenor of our Lord's language requires—the bread and wine become the symbols, the tokens, the memorials, of the body and blood of Christ, thereafter to be received in remembrance of him. Now I do maintain, not only in justice to that reason to which revelation makes its first appeal, but from reverence for those scriptures which are designed to direct us, where reason cannot but fail to do so, that a case is here presented, in which the testimony of the senses has an undeniable claim to be taken into account. On their testimony Christianity was founded; the truth of their testimony was everywhere assumed by our Lord in his discourses: did, then, our Saviour, when leaving his disciples, propose to them a doctrine, relating to objects before their eyes, which at once set at nought that evidence on which their faith rested? We cannot believe this on the dubious interpretation of a single text. It ought to be stamped upon the page of Scripture in characters too distinct to be mistaken."—Turton on the Eucharist, pp. 300–303.

* Fleury.

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In the perpetual revolutions of circumstance, it will necessarily be often the interest of pride and selfishness to contend for that, in its momentary relations, which, essentially and eternally, is most opposed to their success. The Pope himself afforded a striking illustration of this fact. When the French ambassador was urging the expediency of allowing the Cardinal Lorraine sufficient time to reach the council, "Nay," said the Pontiff, smiling, "the cardinal is a second pope. He has a revenue of three hundred thousand crowns derived from benefices, and there is little reason to expect his appearance in the council to propose a reformation. It would scarcely become him to speak against pluralities. The subject is far more terrible to him than to me, for I have but a single benefice, the sovereign pontificate, and with that I am content."

The question respecting the divine right of prelacy formed the next great subject of interest. In the discussion of this article, Lainez, the long-tried friend and successor of Loyola, spoke with equal boldness and vehemence. Remembering the fundamental maxims and objects of the institution which he represented, he contended, first, that the entire jurisdiction of the Church centres in the Pope, and that the bishops possess that which pertains to them only as from him. While Jesus Christ was upon the earth, he governed the Church with an absolute and monarchical authority. When ready to leave it, he established St. Peter as his vicar, and with the power to govern, as he had himself governed, the Church. In the next place, he undertook the refutation of those who hold that the bishops derive their authority from Jesus Christ. To establish his position, he asserted that the apostles themselves were ordained bishops by St. Peter, and that this was the opinion of many of the most eminent catholic doctors. Not content with this, he did not fear to add, that those who ascribed to Jesus Christ the ordination of the apostles, qualified their opinion by the remark that, in this instance, the Lord performed the office of St. Peter, since he was thus giving to the apostles what they ought to have received from their colleague.

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A general expression of disgust was uttered by the bishops of France when they heard these monstrous assumptions. Their power, supported as they were by the Cardinal of Lorraine, was considerable; but they had reason to fear that they would soon have to resist the whole weight of influence enjoyed by the Spanish prelates, whom Pius IV. was with skilful policy endeavouring to govern by means of their bigoted sovereign. In this, however, he was disappointed, and the arrival of the Cardinal of Lorraine with fourteen bishops, three abbots, and eighteen theologians, rendered the French party more powerful than ever.

The agitation which prevailed, at this time, in the council, presented a miserable spectacle to those who were humbly and earnestly interested in promoting the welfare of the Church. In a congregation held on the 1st of December, the bishop of Guadix observed, that a bishop, elected according to the antient canons, would be truly a bishop, although not confirmed by the Pope. No sooner had he uttered the words than some Italian prelates exclaimed aloud, that he ought to be instantly driven from the council and burnt as a heretic. "These Spaniards," they added, "though Catholics, cause us more trouble than the schismatics themselves." "No," was the rejoinder on the part of the accused, "it is you that are the heretics." The Cardinal of Lorraine remarked on this scene, that he had not believed bishops could pursue such a conduct, and that if a French prelate had been treated like the bishop of Guadix, he would have immediately appealed to a free council or to a national synod.*

While this turbulent spirit prevailed at Trent, the Pope was endeavouring to determine in his own consistory what should really be the laws and maxims of the Church. Thus the divine right of bishops was declared to be an error, if spoken of abso-

A. D. 1563.

* Fleury. Paolo Sarpi. Pallavicino, who has given a full account of this matter, clearly allows the indecency of those who excited the disturbance. The bishop of Guadix was in the act of entreating a fair hearing, when his opponents arose, and desired that he might be turned out, heaping at the same time anathemas not only on him but his countrymen: this exceeded, says our author, all the bounds of imprudence and folly.—Hist. Conc. Trident., lib. xix., c. v., sec. 4.

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lutely, since the power of the order being derived, in the first instance, from Christ alone, and the jurisdiction of the bishops from the Pope, the latter could not be said to be given by Jesus Christ, except in so far that the Pope himself owed his authority to him.

The disputes which continued to agitate the council became still more alarming to the Pontiff, when the French prelates offered for approbation their own plan of reform. This danger was only overcome, when fresh alarms were given by the Emperor as well as the King of France. The different parties in the council were not less intent upon supporting their own particular views, and every day something occurred to threaten the speedy dissolution of the assembly. A fierce conflict arose between the ambassadors of France and Spain on the subject of their rank, and Lainez once more excited the indignation of the bishops by claiming for the Pope the same right of giving dispensations which was exercised by Christ himself. With equal warmth, he insisted that the Pontiff was superior to a general council; and, alluding to his opponents, remarked, that he was astonished to find that the sentiments which had been advanced could be listened to by the fathers without indignation and contempt.

In the twenty-third session, held on the 15th of July, a decree was presented, with the customary canons, on the sacrament of orders. Another followed on the subject of reformation; and as there was nothing in either of these documents to provoke any serious dispute, they were accepted, as declaring the unanimous sentiments of the council. The attempts to prove, that the residence of bishops was enjoined by the law of God, had been too strongly opposed by the Pope, and his supporters, to leave a single hope of success to those who wished to see something definite on the subject in this decree of reformation. They were obliged, therefore, to remain contented with finding it distinctly and strongly recommended, that bishops should consider themselves bound by the nature of their office, and their responsibility to Christ and his people, to labour diligently and personally for the good of their flocks. The establishment

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of seminaries was another subject of vast importance treated of in this decree. By the law thus passed, every cathedral was to have adjoining it a seminary for the education of the young; and by a rule, highly honourable to its authors, the children of the poor were to be elected into these schools in preference to those of the rich.*

Many questions still remained undetermined, but they were not such as interested the fathers in their more particular connection with the powerful parties into which the council was divided. As divines they might easily discover in every decree proposed some point which called for criticism, for a clearer expression of the spirit of the doctrine, or a more cautious insisting on the comprehensive topic of reformation. Clandestine marriages, and the manners of secular princes, were matters not unimportant in themselves; but they might be determined without eliciting any peculiar expression of opinion. If they did, the notion was but speculative, and was suffered to pass by with a simple acknowledgment of its originality, or some remark on its folly or its tendency to heresy. Such was the fate of the argument advanced by Lainez on the subject of clandestine marriages. Contrary to the general opinion of the fathers, he contended for their legality, and, when pressed for his defence, found shelter in the solemnly asserted fact, that the first marriage which ever took place, the marriage of Adam and Eve, was without doubt clandestine. The reformation of princes was a subject of greater difficulty, and none of the potentates who had taken so important a share in the proceedings of the council viewed the introduction of such a topic with equanimity. It was obvious to the meanest capacity, that if a decree of this kind were to pass, the power of kings would be at once subject to the domination of the Church, and that the common law of nations, the most ordinary precepts of justice, would lie at the mercy of an ecclesiastical system proved by a thousand instances unworthy of such a trust.

The twenty-fourth session was held on the 11th of

* Canones et Decreta. Paolo Sarpi. Pallavicino. Fleury.

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November; and the decree was published which declared marriage indissoluble, confirming the law by a solemn appeal to the mystery of Christ's passion, whereby, it was said, he had fixed and sanctified the union of husband and wife. "Marriage," continued the council, "being much more excellent under the Christian dispensation, than it was in antient times, the holy fathers, the councils, and universal tradition of the Church, have taught us to place it in the number of the sacraments of the new law."

It was now apparent that but little more remained for the council to attempt, and that in the following session the decrees might be proposed which would properly close its efforts for the reformation of the Church, and the establishment of such doctrines as were deemed esential to the Roman scheme of uniformity and catholic truth. The last session was held on the 3rd of December. A decree was published on the subject of purgatory, and another on the worship of saints. By the former it was declared that the Church had ever taught that there is a purgatory; and by the latter, that the saints which reign in heaven with Jesus Christ offer up supplications for men to the throne of God; that it is good and profitable to invoke them, that we may obtain thereby the grace of God, through his son Jesus Christ, who is the only Redeemer and Saviour; that the relics of martyrs and other saints ought to be reverenced; and that images of Jesus, of the Virgin, and of saints, should be preserved in churches, and receive the veneration due to them, not, that is, because they have any virtue of their own, but for the holy beings they represent. In the decree of reformation which followed these on doctrine, the bishops were again made the subject of severe admonition, and exhorted, in the most solemn manner, not only to lead lives of exemplary moderation, but in no wise to employ their revenues or their interest for the enriching of their relatives, or the gratification of any feeling which might interfere with their devotion to the Church.

On the following day, after some discussion of the

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question regarding indulgences, and which, at last, were pronounced allowable according to the practice of the antient Church, the whole of the decrees published under the preceding pontificates were read. A general vote having been passed, in confirmation of their validity, the Cardinal Moron, who held the office of president, pronounced the blessing, and solemnly dissolved the assembly. A lively emotion prevailed throughout the meeting as the last words of the legate were uttered. The most violent of those who had borne a part in the late discussions were melted to tears, and tenderly embraced those to whom they had been opposed. Joyful acclamations resounded on all sides, interrupted only by sighs and prayers, the proper fruit of hearts which were truly impressed with the solemnity of the occasion, and the recollection of the momentous events which had passed during the eighteen years that had elapsed since the opening of the council.

By the settlement of affairs at Augsburg, and the termination of the Council of Trent, the prospects of the Church assumed a new aspect, and in its less generally agitated state we shall be able to contemplate, more at liberty, the operation of those principles which were henceforth to govern opinion, to form the religious character of mankind, and manifest themselves, according to their several natures, in the strongly-marked and settled features of the various classes of believers.

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